# SPEECHES, STATEMENTS & MESSAGES OF THE QUAID-E-AZAM

Collected & Edited by

KHURSHID AHMAD KHAN YUSUFI

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Quaid e Azam M. A. Jinnah addressing a meeting of the A.I. Muslim League Council in Delhi August 27, 1939

Quaid-e-Azam M A Jinnah, with the members of the A I. Muslim League Working Committee, March, 1940.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| AFM | Archives of Freedom Movement |
| AICC | All-India Congress Committee |
| AIML | All-India Muslim League |
| A.P. | Associated Press |
| A.P.A. | Associated Press of America |
| A.P.I. | Associated Press of India |
| B.B.C. | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| C.P. | Central Provinces |
| F. | File |
| F.O.C. | From Own Correspondent |
| F.O.S. | From Own Sources |
| H.E | His/Her Excellency |
| H.E.H | His Exalted Highness |
| H.H. | His/Her Highness |
| H.M. | His/Her Majesty |
| H.M.G | His/Her Majesty's Government |
| I.C.S. | Indian Civil Service |
| I.N.A. | Indian National Army |
| K.B. | Khan Bahadur |
| M.L.A. | Member Legislative Assembly |
| M.P. | Member Parliament |
| N.W.F.P. | North West Frontier Province |
| O.P. | Orient Press |
| O.P.I. | Orient Press of India |
| p./pp. | page/pages |
| Q.A.P. | Quaid-e-Azam Papers |
| U.P. | United Provinces |
| U.P.A. | United Press of America |

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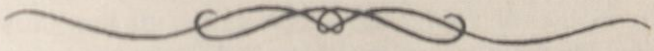

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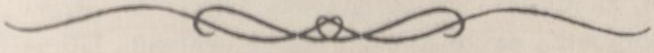

## 179

### Speech in reply to the address presented by the Muslims of Gaya, January 1, 1938.

M. Shah Syed Qasim-ud-Din Ahmad read an address on behalf of the Muslims of Gaya. The following is the full text of Mr. Jinnah's reply to the address:

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen! Let me congratulate you all for this unique feature. It is the first public meeting of the Mussalmans where arrangements have been made for the ladies. I welcome the ladies who are taking part in the meeting and are sitting behind the purdah. We will be greatly handicapped in our work if the ladies do not work shoulder to shoulder with us. The history of Islam is full of events where the Muslim ladies have taken active part in the political, economic, social, and educational activities. The hand that rocks the cradle rules the empire and the hand that rocks the cradle must be given the fullest opportunity to take part in all our activities. Believe me, gentlemen, this feature has given me utmost pleasure.

"You have given me a welcome and presented me an address worthy of a king. Considering the warmth of your sentiments and affection you have shown to me I feel greatly honoured. Indeed I have been deeply moved by a display of your affection. I appreciate the panegyrics and the praises that have been showered on me. I understand the spirit and the meaning of it. The meaning is that the Mussalmans and the Muslim League are one. They are united in a body. Talking of Gaya and this gathering, I should say that thousands gathered at the platform and took me in procession and thousands are sitting around me here and have expressed their feeling through the address just now presented to me. It shows they have understood the issues they are fighting for. The Mussalmans

have understood the policy and the programme of the Muslim League for which I am working.

**Islam a Complete Code**

"The honour and regard which you have shown to me as Mr. Jinnah you have shown them to the Muslim League and Islam. That is you are showing that you are wholeheartedly with the Muslim League. Today in this huge gathering you have honoured me by entrusting the duty to unfurl the flag of the Muslim League, the flag of Islam, for you cannot separate the Muslim League from Islam. Many people misunderstand us when we talk of Islam particularly our Hindu friends. When we say 'This flag is the flag of Islam' they think we are introducing religion into politics – a fact of which we are proud. Islam gives us a complete code. It is not only religion but it contains laws, philosophy and politics. In fact, it contains everything that matters to a man from morning to night. When we talk of Islam we take it as an all-embracing word. We do not mean any ill will. The foundation of our Islamic code is that we stand for liberty, equality and fraternity. You have honoured me by asking me to unfurl this flag. I have unfurled it and am leaving this flag in the sacred charge of the Muslim of Gaya and Bihar. I want you and charge you to prove that you are loyal to it. Do you believe that the policy and the programme of the Muslim League is to uplift the Muslims of India? If so, I appeal to every man, woman and child to enlist in the League and work for it. I would not pay any empty compliments when I say, and I can say it with pride, that Gaya was the first to organise. I have noted that Gaya is the first city in Bihar where a branch of the Muslim League was established before it was established anywhere else. But this is not enough, *Dilli Door Ast* (Delhi is still far off). We are still on the fringe of the business. The task to organise 9 crores of Muslims is a stupendous task, as I said. But God willing, I feel confident, we shall be able to organise sooner than many people think.

**To Bring Congress to its Senses**

"The second task is how to make the High Command of the Congress to come down to the right path. I see there are many Hindu friends in this gathering. I welcome my Hindu friends that are here. Neither the Muslim League nor I, as its servant, desire to fight against our Hindu brethren. Our object is that the Congress should come to its senses. The Congress does not represent all the Hindus, but it does represent a large body of the Hindus. We are trying to convert the High Command of the Congress. We are trying to make the intelligent Hindus to understand that it is not in the interest of the community or in the interest of country to pursue a policy which is ruinous. You must stop your High Command from pursuing a policy detrimental to you.

"What is the League doing? That is apparent from the policy and programme of the Muslims League. I challenge anybody to say that it is not full blooded nationalist programme. The Congress has got its own dictionary. When we say and pass resolution – as we said in April 1936 – that under the present conditions of our country we would utilise the provincial part of the constitution for what it is worth, we meant it. But the Congress passed a resolution saying that they wanted to wreck it while what they meant all the time was to work it. That too is the difference when the Congress says that they would destroy imperialists, princes, capitalists and the zamindars. When the Congress says that, it means, which has now been proved, that they would never alienate the imperialist, the princes, the capitalists and the zamindars.

"What we are struggling for so far as the Muslims and the League are concerned? The difference between the High Command and ourselves is this – we want the High Command to come down on earth. We want them not to shut their eyes to realities and not to pretend or evade or refuse to understand

that in this country situated as we are, there are minorities. The minorities must be won over by giving them proper security. That is the question of questions. Whenever you succeed in voicing your feeling of insecurity in this vast continent, the Congress High Command considers that it is of no consequence. By their words and actions they tend not only to dissatisfy but to create doubts and to create fears in the minds of the Muslims. From day to day they are pursuing a policy which would completely shatter any hope of real settlement.

**Bihar Muslim MLAs Must Join League**

"To come back to the Muslim League. I have appealed that every man, woman and child should enlist as a member of the League. I say that – a very sad and distressing situation that I witness in the Bihar Legislature is this that our representatives returned by the Muslim votes divided – why? But there it is. Why? I venture to appeal to the Muslim representatives of the Bihar Assembly that it is high time that they should set a better example to the Muslims of Bihar. The few that they are they can show by standing as one united party under the banner of the All India Muslim League their strength of the Muslims of Bihar. It is for you to make them see and understand it. In conclusion, I once more thank you for the address. A large part of the audience may not have understood what I said. Therefore I shall try to explain what I said in my broken Urdu."

**The following is the text translation of his Urdu speech:**

"Brethren, my knowledge of Urdu is very fragmentary, but it is my duty to explain something in Urdu. This is what the Muslim League is doing. Today we are entering a new era. The old times have changed. You know that the new constitution has come and another may come in the course of a few years. The Government constituted under the new constitution is a Government of the Majority and by the Majority. If the Government can be formed only by the Majority party that

Majority means Hindus. Your representatives will be still in a Minority no matter whatever percentage they be. What we are afraid of is this that if only a Majority can form a Government and that Majority means Hindus, your representatives will not be able to protect your interest, try however much they may. The Congress says that they will protect the interest of the minorities without the intervention of constitutional safeguards. But when we look to the histories of the countries such as the U.S.A., South Africa, Czechoslovakia and Egypt, we are disillusioned. The right of the minorities not protected by the constitution wields little respect. What happened to the minorities in those countries? How can the majority community enjoy our confidence?

**Hindu Water and Muslim Water**

"There is nothing in common between us. Our old philosophy of life as well as our religion and language are different. 'Hindu water' and 'Muslim water' are common enough cries heard at all railway stations. It shows that we do not drink each other's water. We want that we, being in a minority, should be given safeguards for we know in America self-government and democratic government mean a government of the white people, that is the majority. The Negroes have no right to vote and are treated like slaves. We know that if we do not wake up in time, we may lose. The caste system established about one thousand years ago is still going strong and the untouchables are an outstanding illustration in history how those in power persecute those under their power. The constitution may cause some temptation in the beginning but what Provincial Autonomy means is this. It is not our Government. It is not even a Government by the Congress, but it is Government by the British Government and whatever little experience we have of its working it has further served to strengthen this conclusion. We must – Hindus and Muslim both – get something which is useful for all of us.

*Bande Mataram* has been made a national song despite Muslim opposition. The Congress can impose its other wishes in similar manner provided the Governor does not stop it. But if he does not try to interfere, the matter ends and the Congress have its day.

"The Muslim League is now fighting to so protect the rights that none may crush and none may be crushed. Even many Hindus agree with us but their voices do not count. The High Command of the Congress is in an intoxicated state and consider themselves to be the monarch of the time. The only way open for us now is to unite and offer a united front and work together. It is to this end that we are trying and we want all Muslims to come under one flag – the flag of the Muslim League – the flag of Islam – so that we all may be one."

*The Star of India, January 11, 1938.*

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## 180

### Speech in reply to the address presented by the Muslims Students Federation, Gaya, January 1, 1938.

The address of the Muslim Students Federation was read out in Urdu. Mr. Jinnah replying, said:

"My young friends, what can I tell you? I am very glad that in your address you say this 'The individuals of our student community are often called irresponsible, inexperienced, superficial observers, endowed with temporary enthusiasm, undisciplined, reactionaries, blind followers of the West, innovators and by such other synonymous expressions.' This is in fact what I was going to tell you. It is rather a difficult task for any man to convince the youth because the youth is a mixture of

so many elements full of dreams, sure of everything, he is a mixture of so many elements and so contradictory that to convert him is the most difficult of all the problems. This is the greatest tribute you pay to me. But we want to assure you that in the present troubled state of our country your guidance has diverted the great storehouse of the natural dynamic power of our congenial tendencies into a channel where premature responsibility, sudden contingencies ordained by divine destiny, converts juvenile imprudence into mature wisdom and irresponsibility into seriousness. Well, dream your dreams, have your visions, indulge in what elderly people call folly. It is by indulging in follies that we learn wisdom. If I have converted your irresponsibility into seriousness, more than half the battle is won. I say it not because as people are wont to say 'The students of today are the leaders of tomorrow,' but because you have the advantage of learning the knowledge. You students, equipped as you are, you can, if you will, abandon irresponsibility and take to seriousness, then you can bring the senile, who are not following the right course, to the right course. You say in your address 'We beg to assure you that the humble offering of our true feelings of esteem, regard and appreciation will not be made by mere words but by our deeds'. Students of the federation, prove it by your deeds. I bless you and bid you Godspeed and may God bless you."

*The Star of India, January 11, 1938.*

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## 181

### Speech in reply to the address presented by the Muslim Students' Club, Gaya, January 1, 1938.

Mr. Mubarak Nawab, read an address on behalf of the

Muslim Students Club. The following is the full text of Mr. Jinnah's reply:

"Gentlemen, I have practically exhausted myself. I want to say a few words for your club. The first thing is that I have not seen your club. As I understand the club, it is a very excellent idea. It is a medium of meeting people under the most informal circumstances, where each member is not the guest of another but a member of the club where he belongs to the club and the club belongs to him. The time spent in indoor games and outdoor games provides opportunities of learning other people's thoughts and of making friendships which may last your lifetime. But above all, when the clubs grow you know that in the history of many nations they are makers and breakers of empires. Although you may not reach that stage, you may still be a power to be reckoned with."

*The Star of India, January 11 , 1938.*

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## 182

### Speech at a public meeting held in the Juma mosque, Gaya, January 2, 1938

"I appeal to you to study and try to understand the programme and the policy of the Muslim League. The old times have changed and the fate of our community hangs in the balance, our political struggle is beset with difficulty and is not any easy affair. We cannot accomplish anything in a hurry. During the two days that I have been here you have proved to me that you have enthusiasm and you have power but this alone will not help us unless it is put in proper direction. The work we are doing can be likened to a game of chess. My submission is where there are occasions for a display of enthusiasm, and there are still other occasions for an exercise of cool judgment. The

two occasions are separate from each other. The present time demands our coolest judgment. Our prominent need is to unite the Muslims. We should raise one voice and offer a united front without which we cannot succeed.

"Yesterday you granted me the honour of unfurling the flag. I have unfurled it and am leaving it to your sacred charge. This flag symbolises your honour, the honour of the Muslims and the honour to Islam. The flag of the Muslim League is the flag of Islam. This is not a new thing. It is there since the last 1300 years. But it had for some time past fallen into oblivion. To raise this flag is to elevate our honour. I am leaving it in your hands. The only way now open to Muslims who sincerely want to help one another is to enlist themselves as members of the Muslim League wherein lies not only the salvation of our community, but also the salvation of our country. We shall bring home to our Hindu brethren the advantage of this organisation today, tomorrow or the day after. The Muslim League is an all-India political organisation of the Muslims and it is your duty to enlist yourselves as its members.

**Our Prophet was a Minority of one**

"In view of the low percentage of the Muslims not only in your province but also in the other provinces which comes to 25 per cent in the whole of India, we want to protect our rights under the new Constitution wherever the Hindus are in a majority. I am sorry to say that even our representatives in the assembly are disunited. This would not conduce to our honour. If some Muslims go to the Congress side, the Hindus would claim that the Muslims are with them. There would be still others who would go to the side of the Governor, but no advantage would come out of it. It would make a world of difference if they all unite and form a compact body.

"Surely our percentage is low but that alone should not give us any cause for anxiety. Thirteen hundred years ago, our

Prophet (Peace be upon him) preached his faith when there was no Muslim. In 20 years time our Prophet (peace be upon him) had spread not only his faith in Arabia, Egypt and Europe but also brought them under his suzerainty. If a single Muslim can do all this, what is it which 9 crores of Muslims cannot do. If the Muslims have ever been discomfited, it was by another Muslim. And I say if you stand united there is no power on earth which can suppress or oppress you."

Mr. Jinnah spoke in Urdu.

*The Star of India, January 13, 1938.*

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## 183

### Speech in reply to an address of welcome presented by the Momin Ansars Jamat, Tantibagh Calcutta, January 6, 1938.

Mr. Jinnah in his reply said that the Muslim League was fighting for the underdog. The labouring and working classes and the professional 'Jamats' of the community constituted its backbone. The Muslim League's primary and fundamental object was to raise them to the fullest stature of their manhood and to work for their economic, social, educational and political uplift and welfare. The problem of poverty cannot be solved in a moment by magic but a very great deal can be done immediately for the relief of the poor peoples and it was the duty of all Muslims to bring that about.

Referring to the welcome address which paid tribute to Mr. Jinnah for renouncing Privy Council practice and a life of princely ease and comfort in London in response to the call of the Muslim India which elected him leader of the Muslim League in 1935 at a most critical and chaotic state of Muslim

politics, he said that he left London and adopted the present course of strenuous life only because he had no doubt in his mind that the political future of the Indian Muslim community and Islam, to which he was proud to belong, was in danger of disintegration for want of a bold and correct leadership and the utter lack of organization. He had now come to the deliberate conclusion after much thought and experience that unless the Muslims of India organize and all sections and groups of them unite on a common platform, they were doomed to serfdom and subjection in India. The Muslims must get the power and force of organization at the back of their voice otherwise it will be nothing but a voice in wilderness.

**No Liberty Without "Equality"**

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that he was not fighting the Hindus. He was not even fighting the Congress. He was fighting the Congress leadership which had got intoxicated and had consequently taken leave of reason. It was his patriotic duty to bring that leadership to senses. He was fighting for the freedom of all and for equal justice to all. He stood for the principle of "equality" without which liberty was worthless and meaningless. The Congress had a peculiar political dictionary of its own in which "nationalism" meant "Hinduism" and "*Swaraj*" meant "Hindu Raj" and the "wrecking" of the Constitution meant the "working" it – Similarly, in Congress dictionary "freedom" meant the freedom of the Hindus and the slavery of the Muslims and other minorities and weak peoples.

The sole business of the Muslim League in India was to secure real freedom, real equality ad real justice for all groups, communities and classes without any distinction. But the work of organizing a mass of 9 crore peoples was not an easy task. No one man can accomplish that task unless he got the cooperation and support of all the sections of the Muslim community. What

was supremely necessary at the moment was a band of brave souls, an army of bold and disciplined, selfless and sincere workers who were ready to sacrifice and suffer for the Muslim cause.

**Power of Faith**

When the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) started to preach Islam he was a minority of one in the world. By the force of his faith he challenged the whole universe and wrought the greatest revolution in the shortest time in the world with the help of the Holy Quran. If the Muslims procure the power of that "faith", organization, discipline and sacrifice, they have no reason to fear the hostile forces of the entire world. Let them shake off their lethargy, defeatism and despondency. Let them regain their faith, recapture their souls and remark their history once more in India.

*The Star of India, January 7, 1938.*

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## 184

### Speech in reply to an address of welcome presented by the Allahabad Municipal Board, Allahabad, January 7, 1938

*The Allahabad Municipal Board presented a welcome address to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League. The address referred to him as a doughty champion of Indian nationalism and hoped that he would remain so. It expressed pleasure at finding complete independence as the goal of his party.*

Replying to the address Mr. Jinnah said that he wished his country to rank among the great countries of the world. He

added that whatever might be said about himself by others he would hold India's interests as sacred. Continuing, he said that without real unity between Hindus and Muslims India's freedom could not be achieved.

*The Star of India, January 8, 1938.*

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## 185

### Speech at a public meeting, Allahabad, January 7, 1938.

*Mr. Jinnah addressed a public meeting at which an address was presented to him. The address was read by a former Congress man, who had only today resigned from the Congress and joined the Muslim League. The address approved of the lead given by Mr. Jinnah to the Muslims in India and added that the language, culture and religion of Muslims were being endangered by the activities of Congress men. The address urged the Congress Government to make the position of the Muslims vis-a-vis other communities clear. It concluded by saying that Mr. Jinnah would receive their unstinted support in any programme he puts before the Muslims.*

In his reply Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim community had to safeguard its rights and privileges under the new constitution. This could be achieved only if Muslims organised themselves and strengthened the bonds of unity among themselves. An attempt was being made, he said, to create differences among them. Muslims, he added, would be turned into slaves if they did not unite. He emphasised that he was not against India achieving freedom but they had to see that not only the Hindus got freedom but also the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah said that the League wanted to declare in the clearest terms that it did not want Muslims to be mere camp followers of Hindus. It

wanted free Muslims in a free India. There had been a wonderful Muslim awakening in India and what was needed at present was that this should be harnessed and properly mobilised. They were always ready for an honourale settlement but they did not want to be bamboozled.

**Organization**

He advised the Muslims that whether a settlement was brought about or not they should not forget to organise themselves. Assuming that there was a settlement and a solemn agreement was arrived at between Hindus and Muslims and then the Muslims went to sleep and the Hindus refused to carry out their pledges, were the Muslims going to approach the Viceroy with their complaint against the Hindus? He concluded by exhorting the Muslims to prepare themselves for the future and to keep the flag of Islam flying.

*The Star of India, January 8, 1938.*

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## 186

### Statement in reply to a recent statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Bombay, January 10, 1938.

In the course of a statement to the Associated Press in reply to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent statement. Mr. Jinnah says:

"I welcome Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement of January 2, 1938, for one reason that its tone and language in some parts are conciliatory though the underlying spirit is no less militant and patronising. I hope that the events of the last few months must have convinced the Congress High Command that the Muslim League must be recognised on a footing of

complete equality. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement is a bundle of contradictions and some of the statements are absolutely contrary to facts. He generally has indulged in the usual platitudes and there is nothing new or fresh in the statement.

**No Agreement**

"I must, first of all, correct the statement which coming from a responsible person like the President of the Congress constitutes a serious misrepresentation of my position when he says: 'We have further declared that we shall stand by the provisional agreement which has been arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah.' I have repeatedly said that there was no agreement arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and myself and that I had no authority to enter into any agreement, but I was willing to place the formula of Babu Rajendra Prasad and his friends before the sessions of the League provided it received the solid support of the Hindus and the Sikhs. Now it is proved and admitted that it was opposed even by a very influential body of Congress leaders at the time and the Mahasabha and Sikh leaders in a body rejected it and hence the matter was dropped.

"Next when he says 'We have further declared that we' shall stand by (meaning Babu Rajendra Prasad's Formula), what does he mean by 'we'? Of course, I am aware he is speaking with authority as the President of the Congress.

**Evasion or Ignorance?**

"As for the oft-repeated slogan that the Congress has declared and given full assurance with regard to religion, culture and language, I have made it clear that we cannot rely upon such declarations and assurances. I want Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to realise that he nor the Congress is yet in the position of a sovereign power to make declarations and give assurances. We

want definite and effective safeguard and effective weapons by means of which we can protect not only our religion, culture and language, but our political rights and maintain our place and position in the Government and the administration of the country. I am really surprised when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an airy fashion, having repeated the old position and having referred to Babu Rajendra Prasad's formula, concludes by saying, 'My difficulty is that I do not know what the argument is about'. Is this evasion or ignorance? He then proceeds, to patronise the Muslim League, that it has come nearer in theory at least to the Congress, and then further proceeds, I do not know with what object, and informs me that the Congress of today is different from what it was when I was associated with it.

"Well, that is my greatest regret and that is why I am not there. But he proceeds further and gives us the result of his laborious mathematical task and tells us that there are 31 lakhs of members on the Congress rolls of whom about one lakh are Muslims. I wonder what is intended by introducing the display of this great power of the Congress when in more than one place he says that his approach of the minorities questions should be dispassionate one and should not rouse bitterness and hatred. Then comes the attack on Mr. Fazlul Huq which is most inappropriate and out of place in his present statement, if he desired really to create a friendly atmosphere, and as to the rebuke to me that my approach is anything but friendly, this is simply not a fact.

"However well-meaning the statement of a single individual may be and even though he may be the President of the Congress that cannot carry us very far. If the Congress really is sincere and in earnest, the way to approach is not through the Press and columns of newspapers. The Working Committee has met often but has done nothing hitherto to tackle this question officially and authoritatively. I note the assurance contained in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement that he and his colleagues

in the Congress Working Committee will always give their very best consideration to any statement or proposal that may be made by me, but he spoiled it for I wish he had not said 'even without his issuing challenges.' Hitherto the challenges have come from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and not from me.

**Oppressions on Muslim Minorities**

"Does Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru know that all along the countryside specially many of the 10,000 Congress Committees, and even some Hindu officials are behaving as if the Hindu Raj had already been established, and in the provinces where the Muslims hold a dominant voice every nerve is moved to destroy the ministries in those provinces. I have received numerous complaints of arrogance and ill-treatment and injustice meted out to the Muslims generally and in particular to the members of the Muslim League. If this state of things continues, as it promises to do. I propose that a Committee of responsible men should be appointed to enquire into these instances and report the matter to the Council of the All India Muslim League for such action as they may consider proper. Would the Congress High Command and the Ministries in the Congress Majority provinces look into this matter if they desire that a more friendly atmosphere should be created with a view to find an ultimate solution of the minorities question?

"No thoughtful man expects that negotiations can be carried on through the medium of the Press, nor would any sensible man expect me to formulate proposals for publication and thus allow a trial by Press for verdict. The Council of the All India Muslim League and myself will always give our best consideration to any proposal that may be made by the Congress or the Working Committee officially." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, January 10, 1938.*

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## 187

### Appeal in connection with a by-election in Central Provinces, Bombay, January 11, 1938.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has issued the following appeal in connection with a by-election in the Central Provinces:

"I appeal to all the members of the Muslim League and every Muslim who is a well-wisher of the community to support and vote for Master Wali Muhammad, who has been adopted by the Muslim League Parliamentary Board of the Central Provinces. At this critical juncture the solidarity and unity of the community is absolutely essential and I most fervently hope that my appeal will secure your wholehearted support and thus we may uphold the prestige of the All India Muslim League."

*The Star of India, January 12, 1938*

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## 188

### Speech in reply to an address presented by the Agra District Muslim League, Agra, January 29, 1938.

"Replying to the address in Urdu, Mr. Jinnah said that it was in the year 1913 when the All India Muslim League session was held in Agra, that he became a member of the League and had been a member eversince. He was glad that the Agra District was working satisfactorily. Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said that these were days of majority who framed laws regardless of the interests of minorities. In the provinces where the Congress was in power, the little power they had got was being used to the advantage of the Hindu majority. The Congress was not a national body but purely a Hindu organisation. Mr. Jinnah

asked the Mussalmans to understand the League which stood for safe - guarding their rights. If the Mussalmans did not fight for their legitimate rights, they would be reduced to the status of the Negroes in the future India. The Congress on assuming power ordered the singing of the *Bande Matram*, which aimed at hurting the religious feelings of the Mussalmans and the order of teaching Hindi in all educational schools, which aimed at depriving the Muslims of their culture. The Congress was not at all sincere in what they said. They said one thing and did another. It was full of tricks and diplomacy primarily detrimental to the interests of the Muslims. It was interesting to note that during the last general election Congress men went round telling Muslims to vote for Muslim League candidates because they feared the League on attaining power they ordered nobody ought to have anything to do with the Muslim League. It was a reactionary body composed of middle class toddies. The Muslims were brave. They had ruled 800 years but now they were utterly powerless. They dreamt of their past glories and were disinclined to awaken from sleep. Power commanded respect and fear. The Congress was a powerful Hindu organisation and so even the British Government was afraid of it. It was no use complaining of Congress high handedness in League meetings. Complaints would not remedy grievances. He had received quite a number of complaints from the United Provinces, but it was not possible to do anything with power. If Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jawaharlal or the Congress Working Committee ordered, there would be crores of Hindus to carry out the orders, he very much doubted if the Muslims would come forth as willingly if an order was issued by the Muslim League President or the League Committee.

There were many among the Muslims who were ever prepared to give even their lives for the good of their community. The Congress was an influential Hindu organisation. The League fought none but to preserve the Muslims. It was a

platform for all classes of people the rich and the poor: the peasant and the zamindar. If all the eight crores of Muslims joined the League, they would be a power which no power in world would dare to face.

A party of students which also happened to be present at the meeting asked Mr. Jinnah for a message in English.

Mr. Jinnah said "Let me tell you my young friends, you must try to associate your women with you. Do not imitate the West, but the participation of women was necessary with you. We want our ladies to share with us in our political struggle." Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said that he hoped that the Agra District Muslim League would make purdah arrangements for the ladies to participate in the meetings of the league. Muslims felt as strongly if not more as any Indian to get India free but there was a but and a big but too. "My confidence in the Congress is shattered. I can not trust it any more. The last Khilafat movement was led by Mussalmans. They made sacrifices which made Congress what it was today but what happened to the Mussalmans. The Mussalman was a very good fellow. He was moved regardless of consequences and forgo all mathematics. They were moved and burnt their own home. During the Khilafat movement the League was suspended and the Aligarh University was closed. Maulana Mohammad Ali (on whom be peace) for whom he had the greatest respect and affection, himself went down to Aligarh and had the University closed, but not a boy came out of the Benares Hindu University. Mussalmans sacrificed the Muslim League and their University and what came of it, they were expected to become camp followers as the Congress still would like them to do. He knew very little mathematics but he was one of those Mussalmans who knew a little diplomacy and he warned them that no man got anything without working for it. The Mussalmans were asleep and they slept as under the effect of chloroform. Speaking to the Hindus he said that the policy of the Congress was disastrous to the

Hindus and the rest of the country. By dominating, suppressing and subjugating the Mussalmans they could never make any headway. The Mussalmans refused to be thus suppressed.

Mr. Jinnah expressed his gratitude for the honour done to the League.

*The Agra Citizen, January 30, 1938.*

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## 189

### Speech in reply to an Address of Welcome presented to him on behalf of Delhi Provincial Muslim League, Delhi, January 30, 1938

*(Nearly 25,000 people were present at a meeting at which an address of welcome was presented to Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League. Begum Muhammad Ali presided. The address referred to Mr. Jinnah's high consistent political ideals, as well as to complete absence of selfish motives in all that he had done for the advancement of Indian Muslims. It also paid him a tribute for the indefatigable efforts which he is making to bring the whole of Muslim India on to one platform by resuscitating the League, and acknowledged Mr. Jinnah as the undisputed leader of the Muslims.*

*The address referred to the Shahidganj question and expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah would bring his political sagacity, and legal ability into play for the restoration of Shahidganj to Muslims and assured him of the wholehearted support of Delhi Muslims in the matter).*

Replying Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress policy in the seven provinces where it had formed the Government should give Muslims some idea of what its ultimate object was. Muslims numerically, educationally and economically, were inferior to

Hindus and if they wanted to have an honourable existence and have some say in the affairs of the country they should do all in their power to attain solidarity and unity.

**A Warning**

He wished to warn them in time, as the Congress attitude had convinced him that the rights of Muslims were unsafe in the hands of the Congress. He added, that the League was still a baby. If it was carefully nursed there was no reason why it should not attain the stature of a full-grown person in a short time and become as powerful as any other similar organisation in the country.

He claimed that it was through the help and co-operation of Muslims in the past that the Congress had carved out its present position and he felt sure that if all Muslims rallied round the League it would become equally powerful.

When that stage was reached he would tell them what to do in cases like Palestine and Shahidganj.

He concluded his speech with a note of optimism in regard to the future of the League and, through that, of Muslim India and said that his optimism was based on numerous signs of an awakening among the Muslims which were making themselves increasingly manifest. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 31, 1938.*

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**Another Version**

"Mr. Jinnah, replying in almost fluent Urdu heartily thanked the organizers of the reception and the meeting. He thought the fact that they participated in those demonstrations in such large numbers showed that Delhi Muslims were alive and wide awake. The Muslim League was in its infancy. "What

can a six-month-old baby do," he asked.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said, "We want to live in India honourably. Indian Muslims, who are eighty millions in number, are educationally, economically and socially, backward. Above all the Muslims have been sleeping for the last 100 years and all attempts that were made to awaken them have failed. The time has now come for the Muslims to rise and from the reports that I am receiving I can say, that the Muslims are rising and they want to live honourably. They have now realized that the policy and the programme of the Muslim League is not only for the benefit of the Muslims but even, in the interests of the country."

Developing his theme, Mr. Jinnah said, "We want our rights and we would only get our rights when the community, with one voice, demands it. The times have changed and the new constitution is in operation in the provinces Muslims are in a minority in seven provinces and it is a matter of great humiliation for them that the N.W.F. Province has also been won over by the Congress. It must teach us a lesson. The Frontier Province is a predominantly Muslim province, 95 per cent of the population being Muslims, but the Congress is ruling that province and the orders issued from Wardha are carried out by the Frontier Government. This shows the depth of our degradation and inaction. The fact remains that the Congress is in power in seven provinces and the decisions are taken there by the majority which is invariably Hindu. It is, to all intends and purposes, therefore, "Hindu Raj" and we must remember that the Congress has only got limited autonomy now. Delhi is yet far away. The Hindus can do whatever they like."

Continuing in the same strain Mr. Jinnah declared emphatically, "We are now, by the actual working of Provincial Autonomy, convinced that our necks, which are in the grip of the Congress, are not safe." Mr. Jinnah referred in this connection to the singing of Bande Mataram song in the Provincial Legislatures which he regard smelt of idolatry and

was a war cry against the Muslims as a whole. He was terrified to think of the future and declared, "I am raising the alarm bell. The flames are raging. It is your business to take care."

**Hindustani in Schools**

Proceeding he referred to what he called the compulsory introduction of *Hindi Hindustani* in the schools in all the Congress provinces and expressed the opinion that it would sound the death knell of Muslim culture and Urdu language and would prove suicidal for their children as well. Having enumerated his numerous grievances, Mr. Jinnah declared that they wanted to fight for their constitutional rights. He traced the history of the non-co-operation movement of 1921 and said how the Muslims, in the name of independence and Khilafat made heroic sacrifices which contributed to the present strength of the Congress. The Aligarh University was closed although not a single student of the Benares University joined the movement. Thus, their dearest institution was disbanded and what did the Congress give in return to the sacrifices of the Muslims? "They presented us the 'Nehru Report' which, you know, was universally condemned by the Muslims."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said that even if all the Muslims in India joined the Congress they would remain there in a minority. The only way of saving the Muslims was that they should rally round their flag and speak with one voice.

"I am confident, he added, "that with your help and co-operation I will be able to make the Muslim League the Parliament of 80 million Muslims of India. Then alone I will give you a reply to the question as to what I am going to do with regard to Shahidganj and Palestine."

*The Star, February 7, 1938.*

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## 190

### Speech at the meeting of the Students' Union, Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, February, 3, 1938

"A couple of students challenged Mr. M. A. Jinnah, when he dubbed the Indian National Congress as a Hindu Organization in the course of a violent speech that he delivered at the Anglo-Arabic College Hall, under the auspices of the College Union. Mr. Jinnah flared up at the interruption and said in support of his assertion, "If it had not been a Hindu organization, it would not have been foolish enough to introduce the "Bande Mataram" song in the Legislatures."

Mr. Jinnah added: "I do not mean to say that there is no Hindu in the Congress, who believes in genuine nationalism, but one swallow does not make a summer. The bulk of the Hindus would remain Hindus." "Would an ordinary Hindu drink water from my hand?" Mr. Jinnah asked his interrupters. The Hindu students present at the meeting gave an emphatic reply in the affirmative to Mr. Jinnah's query. Mr. Jinnah, however, was not silenced and asked as to why the students had separate dining hall in the colleges. A Hindu student said "because the third party is there." Mr. Jinnah retorted at the top of his voice: "The third party does not prevent us from dining together. We must recognize facts."

Mr. Jinnah was given a tremendous ovation by the students when he entered the hall. Mir Mushtaq, who presided at the meeting paid tribute to Mr. Jinnah for giving a bold lead to the Muslims.

Mr. Jinnah rose to speak amidst shouts of "Allah-ho-Akbar" and "Islam zindabad." At the outset he recalled that about 3 or 4 years back, while speaking at a meeting in that hall, he had remarked that the Muslims were a no-man's land. He added: "Let me claim to-day that it is our land now," Referring to

the President's remarks. Mr. Jinnah said: "If I have freed you–and I feel I have–from the influence of some undesirable 'mullas' and 'maulvis,' having been freed from their clutches, we must free and emancipate our women. That does not mean that we should invite the evils that exist in some Western countries in the name of emancipation of women."

**Muslim League and Last Elections**

Mr. Jinnah traced at length the history of the Muslim League since the last elections. He said: "When we started our work of organizing the Muslims, there was opposition from all quarters who feared that the Muslims might no longer remain a no man's land. Before that every body was exploiting the Muslims. The bureaucracy got alarmed over the prospect of 80 million Muslims, whom they had always treated as they liked, being organized. In the beginning the Congress thought the League was not such a bad thing and in the U.P. and some other provinces Congressmen, who went about electioneering, advised the Muslims to support League candidates. In the United Provinces the foremost Muslim League leaders went about asking the people not to support the candidate of the National Agriculturist Party, who were capitalists.

The Muslim League had been following the same policy throughout, which it had chalked out for itself in the beginning. It had always stood and now stands for co-operation with any group provided their programme was identical with the League programme. Their main object was to weed out undesirable elements from amongst the Muslims and to bring forward independent men who were nationalist in their outlook "let me tell you we have freed ourselves, to some extent from reactionaries and toadies who flourished among us."

**After the Elections**

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said that his community was

educationally backward and financially bankrupt and they started with no organization. He was glad that they had vindicated their claim that something could be done. Mr. Jinnah thought that after the elections were over the Congress got intoxicated with power. They began to think they were the real rulers. They came out with majorities in six provinces and one more, N.W.F. Province fell to them. Mr. Jinnah told his audience that sober-minded people in the Congress dinned in his ears day in and day out that they had conquered seven provinces and would soon conquer the remaining four provinces. And intoxicated with power, would not now touch the League Party with a pair of tongs anywhere, Mr. Jinnah said: "Congressmen are shutting their eyes to realities. People, who are blind to realities, are incapable of leading their people. Some of you visionary young men, think that all this talk of realities is nonsense. The real issue that appeals to you is that we want to destroy this Imperialistic power and to remove hunger and poverty. This issue appeals to me also. Let me tell you, young friends, that the League policy and programme is not a bit behind the Congress. No organization is more willing to carry out constructive and ameliorative measures for giving relief to the people. There is no fundamental difference on that question between the League and the Congress. We, Muslims, are far more poor than other people and why should we be foolish enough to oppose any measure which will give relief to the poor."

Mr. Jinnah recalled Pandit Jawaharlal's famous phrase "To hell with this Constitution" and added: "The Congress has quietly accepted office. Every job is secured by the Congress Party and I assure you they are not likely to come out of office for 5 years. They might be wishing that the term of Legislatures had been 10 years. The Congress used to say that it was for wrecking the Constitution, whereas the League stood for working it; where is the difference to-day?"

**The "Bande Mataram" Song**

Referring again to the "Bande Mataram" song, Mr. Jinnah said "The very first day, the Legislatures met, they introduced the song without consulting any body because they were suffering from the intoxication of power. Could there be an act of greater folly. Even assuming that the "Bande Mataram" song is unexceptionable, it is admittedly the product of Hindu culture and Hindu philosophy. Supposing Mohammedans and Parsis were to raise their slogans, while entering Legislatures what would happen? There is nothing wrong in "Allah-ho-Akbar. If 30 members of the Central Assembly, headed by me, were to enter the Assembly shouting "Allah-ho-Akbar," would it be right to expect that other people would repeat the slogan? "The question is why am I to go in an aggressive manner. You cannot expect any Muslim to respect 'Bande Mataram'. It is admittedly idolatory and if you go into its historical background, you will know that it is a hymn of hatred against the Muslims. On the top of it you have to remember that the Congress has no real power so far. There is no 'Hindu Raj.' British Raj' is still there. I cannot understand people who are forcing this song on us. They are bereft of all ordinary reasoning."

**Hindi-Urdu Controversy**

Coming to the Urdu-Hindi controversy, Mr. Jinnah reiterated his objections to Hindi. He admitted that Muslims did not speak 'Urdu" throughout India and that the Hindus did not speak Hindi. But the Muslims could not be forced to adopt Hindu culture. Hindi was getting more and more sanskritized. He would not grudge it, if they decided that Hindus all over India should have one common language. "Let me have the same desire–that all Muslims should learn Urdu. It is through language that ideas spread. If you compel us to learn Hindi, our children will be saturated with Hindu culture. Language is a medium to acquire ideas. If you want freedom for the whole

country why should Muslims suffer from subjugation."

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said: "When we speak of Islam the average Hindu gets alarmed. I want free Islam in a free India. Islam does not mean my faith alone. It means a code for which there is no parallel in the world. It is a complete system of jurisprudence, and social and economic fabric. It has got fundamental principles and has equality, fraternity and liberty as its basic principles."

**Rights of Minorities**

Reverting again to his subject of minorities' rights, Mr. Jinnah said: "Till our rights and interests are safeguarded, majority community is likely to be tyrannical. Since the Lucknow Pact of 1916, sensible Congressmen had been following a policy of collaboration with the League, but for the last two years, people at the helm of Congress affairs say it is all nonsense. It is why there is bitter controversy between the League and the Congress. I have no hesitation in saying–you may cover it by catchwords – the Congress is a Hindu body.

Replying to student interrupters, Mr. Jinnah said, "It is a historical fact that a community in power will force its culture upon others. We must find a solution as statesmen and not act as foolish, blind people who do not recognize facts. The longer we remain blind, the longer the way to freedom will be. I tell my Hindu friends that they are making the greatest mistake of their life. They must come down to earth as they would never succeed in their dreams of subjugating the Muslims and making them their camp-followers."

Mr. Jinnah thought that the enthusiasm displayed by the people on his arrival was a sign of the popularity of the League policy and programme; otherwise he had not come to Delhi for the first time. He recalled how when he came to Delhi for the first time to attend the Imperial Council, he quietly took

a tonga and went to his hotel.

**Appeal to Muslims to take to Constructive Work.**

Mr. Jinnah wanted the Congress not to get intoxicated with power. He advised the students to avoid losing temper as one who lost temper lost his case. He wanted them not to develop a swollen head. The Congress became powerful after 20 years of organizing work. He thought the League had reached a stage when it could not be destroyed. The stock of the League, according to Mr. Jinnah, had risen and its price had gone up. He wanted the Muslims to develop strength so that they might have sanction behind their organization. He wished well to all Hindu selfless public workers, who were engaged in social activities and wanted the Muslims to emulate their example. He wanted them to pay special attention to women's education and bring them along with men. He regretted the paucity of Muslim workers and stressed the necessity of spade work. He concluded with an appeal to them to take to constructive work.

*The Hindustan Times, February 4, 1938.*

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## 191

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the question regarding "Appointment of An Agent General of the Government of India in East Africa", New Delhi, February 4, 1938.

**Seth Govind Das**: (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state whether any Agent General to the Government of India is being appointed in East Africa?

(b) Has the Honourable Member received any representation in this respect from the Indian Association of

Mombasa?

(c) Does the Honourable Member know that Indian opinion in East Africa is against such appointment?

(d) Before deciding the matter finally, is the Honourable Member prepared to consult the Indian opinion in East Africa, specially the East African Delegation which is coming to India on the 5th February?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai**: (a) As has been indicated to the House more than once during previous Sessions, the Government of India have been in communication with His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom through the Secretary of State for India regrading the appointment of Indian Agents in certain colonies, including East Africa. This suggestion they have been pursuing in conformity with wishes which have been repeatedly expressed by Honourable Non-Official Members of both Houses. The matter is still the subject of correspondence, and no decision has been reached.

(b) Yes.

(c) Apart from the communication referred to in part (b) of the question, the Government of India have had no evidence of the existence of such feeling.

(d) It is unlikely that any decision will be reached before the 5th February. The Government of India will certainly give due consideration to any representations that may reach them on this subject from responsible sources before finally deciding the matter.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: What are the reasons why the objection is raised against the Agent being appointed by the Government of India?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai**: I have not got the letter of the Indian Association with me at the moment but speaking

from memory, they seem to take objection on the ground that the appointment of an Agent would interfere with the power of their representatives to deal with local questions.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1938, Vol. I, p. 338*

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## 192

### Speech delivered at the meeting of the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, February 5, 1938.

"To-day Primary Leagues have been established almost in every district, in every town, and every village. They are gathering the precious stones, rubies sapphires and diamonds, the scattered energies and talents of the Muslim community, and when you have got an artistic jeweller to set them it will be a jewel which you will be proud of." This was the peroration of Mr. M. A. Jinnah's inspiring speech at the Muslim University Union in the Strachey Hall.

**Muslim Youth's Sensibility**

Mr. Jinnah said: You, Mr. President, have showered praises upon me. But what has really stimulated me is the message of hope you have given me and the spirit of youth you have imparted to me. If you are half as determined to make sacrifice which creates sanction behind us, if you are half as willing to serve first of all Mussalmans and then the country as you would have me believe, the future of our community is assured. Let us first learn to look after ourselves and then you will be able to look after others. I want to tell facts. You, Mr. President, have said, the Muslim is born free. When was he free? In this country at any rate we have been slaves for 150 years. I don't want to dishearten you: I am glad to know that the Muslim youth is prepared to share senile wisdom and to replace mere

shibboleths and slogans by some sense of practical responsibility. I want you to study and think and realise your responsibility.

**Personal Reminiscences, Lucknow Pact And After**

Mr. Jinnah next struck a personal note and recalled the Lucknow Pact with which he had been so closely associated. It was based on a small step forward towards self-government. Since 1924 the Mussalmans have not been behind any other in their honest desire for full self-government. In this matter there was no difference. But the basic principal so far both of the Congress policy and the League policy had been that the rights and interests of all the minorities must be safeguarded in any constitution by whomsoever framed. Many efforts had been made since 1924 till the Round Table Conference to settle the Muslim-Hindu question. At that time, said Mr. Jinnah, there was no pride in me and I used to beg from the Congress. I worked so incessantly to bring about a rapprochement that a newspaper remarked that Mr. Jinnah is never tired of Hindu-Muslim unity. But I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate. The Mussalmans were like the No Man's Land; they were led by either the flunkeys of the British Government or the camp-followers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organise the Muslims, toadies and flunkeys on the one hand and traitors in the Congress camp on the other frustrated the efforts. I began to feel that neither could I help India, nor change the Hindu mentality, nor could I make the Mussalmans realise their precarious position. I felt so disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London. Not that I did not love India; but I felt utterly helpless. I kept in touch with India. At the end of four years I found that the Mussalmans were in the greatest danger. I made up my mind to come back to India, as I could not

do any good from London. Having no sanction behind me I was in the position of a beggar and received the treatment that a beggar deserves.

**1935 Negotiations And Provincial Elections**

Then in 1935 I entered into negotiations with the President of the Congress. A formula was evolved but the Hindus won't look at it. In 1936 I said to the Congress, 'Never mind what was done, stop this bitter controversy over the Communal Award. Good, bad or indifferent, let it stand in the absence of an agreed solution. Let us face the bigger issues.' But when I felt I had exploited every method of brining about unity I turned round to see what the actual situation demanded. I saw that the new Constitution was coming. From 1924 to 1936 it came to this–nothing doing. In sheer desperation I called the session of the All-India Muslim League in April 1936, and the League decided to contest the elections in the provinces. There was opposition from every direction,–from the Congress, from many of our own people. With no primary organisations and with very inadequate resources the League fought the elections and achieved a considerable measure of success. But still in some of our own majority provinces there was no Muslim League party. However, working with determination and perseverance since April 1936, we have achieved something which is wonderful.

**Muslim Position Recapitulated**

Let us recapitulate our position. Firstly, there was the bureaucracy; they felt that they had acquired a prescriptive right over the Mussalmans. They said, "Well, if this Jinnah fellow comes Muslims will be out of our hands." It has happened so. The Mussalmans, thanks God, are to-day out of their hands. But power has now passed to a certain extent into the hands of the majority community. It is now clear that the British Government shows no signs of coming to the help of Muslims

but is throwing them to the wolves. I am glad, so far so good. To a very great extent the Muslim League has freed the Mussalmans from the clutches of the British Government. But now there is another power which claims to be the successor of the British Government. Call it by whatever name you like, but it is Hindu and Hindu Government.

Political language is woolly and misleading. I shall speak plainly. What is the attitude of the Congress? It may be summed up thus: "The Muslim League is composed of toadies; it is a reactionary body, it is in alliance with imperialistic power." That is how they denounce the Muslim League. Well, what has the League done? The League decided with regard to the prevailing conditions that the Provincial Constitution should be utilised for what it was worth. On the other hand, the decision of the Congress was to wreck the Constitution. The Congress did not have patience with the League which had adopted a full-blooded nationalistic programme. We were trying to make the Muslim League completely representative of the Muslim community. I was misrepresented and maligned in the Congress press. I was dubbed a communalist. They said, 'Well, Jinnah may be all right, but he is surrounded by toadies and flunkeys who will swallow him up.' Every time some plausible excuse was made to ignore the Muslims. The Congress tried to poison the minds of our youth and delude them into the belief that the Congress stood for complete independence and would remove poverty and hunger. But what were really their designs? They wanted certain assurances from the British Government which they failed to get. They are not only utilising but working the very Constitution they had so vehemently professed to wreck. To the Muslims they gave all sorts of silly assurances. In one province the Congress Premier went to the extent of declaring that he would lay down his very life if a single brick of a mosque were touched. That sounded very noble. But what actually happened? In that very province, Bihar, the cumulatives system of voting

has been taken away with the result hat no Muslim was elected in the last election. We, therefore, cannot depend upon assurances and goodwill. In politics, goodwill and love and affection and regard can only be demonstrated when you are strong. People know how to touch your weak points or, if you like, your strong points. When you are told of his heart-rending hunger and poverty, when somebody comes and tells you, "Oh! what is the use of anything? Let us remove these appalling conditions. The Congress is struggling to achieve independence and to establish a communistic and socialistic government.' The economic issue is the only issue that faces us,–you will be moved. I confess I myself sometimes feel moved. This has been constantly dinned into the ears of the youth. When you think you will be able to destroy the British Government, the zamindars, the capitalists, with one stroke, refer to the conditions of Europe. In Germany Hilterism came into existence because of socialistic and communistic movements. So did Fascism rise in Italy. What is the fight in Spain about? It is the same issue. When the question was put to the President of the Congress as to when he would be able to fulfil this wonderful programme, he said, 'within my lifetime,' and added 'when we have captured power, we will destroy this Constitution, not by the quill-pen.' But the question is how long will he hold quill-pen or rather the red-pen which he is doing at present?

We in India have been brought up in the traditions of the British Parliamentary democracy. The Constitution foisted on us is also modelled more or less on the British pattern. But there is an essential difference between the body-politic of the country and that of Britain. The majority and minority parties in Britain are alterable, their complexion and strength often change. To-day it is a Conservative Government, tomorrow Liberal and the day after Labour. But such is not the case with India. Here we have a permanent Hindu majority and the rest are minorities which cannot within any conceivable period of

time hope to become majorities. The majority can afford to assume a non-communal label, but it remains exclusively Hindu in its spirit and action. The only hope for minorities is to organise themselves and secure a definite share in power to safeguard their rights and interests. Without such power no constitution can work successfully in India.

My appeal to you is: Come to the platform of the League. If Muslims are united the settlement will come sooner than you think. You will have established your claim to achieve freedom. After a few month's work the League's name is known in every corner of India. Lakhs of people are joining it. Even those who are against us will realise that they are under a serious delusion and their only course is to join the League and make the Mussalmans speak with one voice.

**What Muslim League has Done?**

What the League has done is to set you free from the reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play their selfish game are traitors. It has certainly freed you from that undesirable elements of Maulvis and Maulanas. I am not speaking of Maulvis as a whole class. There are some of them who are as patriotic and sincere as any other; but there is a section of them which is undesirable. Having freed ourselves from the clutches of the British Government, the Congress, the reactionaries and so-called Maulvis, may I appeal to the youth to emancipate our women. This is essential. I do not mean that we are to ape the evils of the West. What I mean is that they must share our life not only social also political.

The personnel of the League is far from being perfect. It is no use making allegations; it is no use telling me this man is bad or that man is undesirable. If you are really in earnest your only course is to join the League and make improvements.

I am convinced and you will agree with me that the Congress policy is to divide the Muslims among themselves. It is

the same old tactics of the British Government. They follow the policy of their masters. Don't fall into the trap. This is a moment of life and death for the Mussalmans. Take it from me that unless there is unity among the Muslims at any cost they will be lost. If our house is defective we must set it right ourselves. If you support us we will set it right ourselves as we like and desire.

**Harnessing Muslim Power**

Mr. President, I have received from you to-day the greatest message of hope. March forward and no power on earth can resist you. I find in front of me the finest recruiting ground. Lakhs are ready to serve the platform and flag of the All-India Muslim League. To make a good, efficient soldier you at least require a year. To make a good subaltern at least five years are required. I see enormous power latent in these people. The stage has been more easily reached than the stage of harnessing them and mobilising them and making them a political army. What is the difference between the Hindus and the Muslims? If Wardha makes any decision and issues orders to-morrow, millions of Hindus will follow and obey. I ask you, suppose the Muslim-League were to issue any order, what will happen to it? We are not sufficiently equipped and trained, and therefore it will be difficult to produce lakhs of Muslims to carry out orders. The British Government is always thinking of what the Congress is doing, what is going to be the repercussion of the British policy in the Congress camp. But will the British Government think of you? No; because you are not an organised power. Therefore develop your power and establish your solidarily.

The Muslim League is determined to win freedom but it will be a freedom not only for the strong and the dominant but also for the weak and the suppressed.

*The Hindustan Times, February 8, 1938.*

## Another Version

Speaking at the Strachey Hall, Mr. Jinnah, after expressing his gratitude for the affectionate reception, which had "almost killed" him, said:

"I have witnessed all over India a delightful awakening and enthusiasm among the Mussalmans. Numerically we are in a minority. Educationally notwithstanding your magnificent university, we are sadly backward; and economically almost bankrupt, but with all this the Mussalmans have displayed a criminal neglect of their own affairs. They have never cared to organize themselves and the Muslim League was for a long time not an active political body, but an academic organization.

"The leaders of the community had been too busy with their quarrels and personal ends. The Mussalmans have suddenly and painfully realized that they are treated not only with indifference but with contempt, and they complain that they have been thrown to the wolves. The Congress, after its unexpected victory at the polls, has been intoxicated with power and its administration in the provinces where it is in power has given the Mussalmans a rude shock.

### Creating Disunity

"Instead of solving the problem of appeasing poverty and hunger, in which venture the Mussalmans could have lent all their weight, the Hindus have sought to impose upon us *Bande Mataram* in the Assembly halls and expect us to salute it. They have sought to impose Hindi upon the Mussalmans.

"While I respect the philosophy and culture of others I love and adore my own, and can never agree to the coming generation thus being lost to Islam.

"The Congress Muslim Mass Contact Movement has set the Mussalmans against each other and the Congress has

supported the deserters of the Moslem camp. Joint electorates are being thrust upon the Mussalmans. The call to freedom is irresistible to every Muslim heart, but the Congress has betrayed itself outright and I am now convinced that the nationalism of the Congress merely and positively means Hinduism and Hindudom. How is it possible for the Mussalmans to repose trust in a permanent political majority, the religion and culture of which is different from ours and which has behaved in a manner that ill becomes it?

"Everything is in the melting pot. I see grave dangers to the very existence of the community, and as I warn every Mussalman of the dangers ahead, I fervently appeal to him that if he wants his community to lead an honourable life in this country, he must work for the unity and solidarity of the community and help the Mussalmans to stand, speak, and act like one man."

*The Light, February, 1938.*

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## 193

### Speech at the flag-hoisting ceremony, Aligarh, February 8, 1938.

*Mr. Jinnah unfurled the Muslim League flag over the Muslim University Union Hall.*

Addressing the students after the ceremony Mr. Jinnah said that he was encouraged by their enthusiasm for the service of Islam and he urged them to hold the flag sacred.

*The Statesman, February 9, 1938.*

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## 194

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly, on the "Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill" New Delhi, February 9, 1938.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdul Rahim): Legislative Business.

**The Honourable Sir Thomas Stewart** (Member for Railways and Communications): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Railways, Act, 1890, for a certain purpose (Insertion of new section 42B), be taken into consideration".

In Chapter V of the Indian Railways Act as amended by the Adaptation Order of 1937, certain statutory powers are conferred upon the Federal Railway Authority in respect of such matters as relate to the rating of goods, the fixing of terminal charges and such like subjects. There is, however, one important omission. No statutory power has been conferred on the Federal Railway authority to fix maximum and minimum rates and fares.....

. . . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I should like to hear a little more from Government as to why this Bill is introduced and its real need. I am not in favour of a motion for circulation but on the contrary am entirely opposed to the Bill; and therefore, unless Government really wish to place their case fully before us, I shall be obliged to oppose both the motion for consideration of the Bill as well as the motion for circulation. I am really surprised that Government should take the matter so lightly, and I also regret that the Congress Party should have moved only for circulation.

Sir, there is a definite principle involved in this matter.

Mr. Honourable friends, Sir Yamin Khan, said that this House has accepted the principle of a Statutory Railway Authority. (Vices of, "Never,") What has this House accepted? The last expression of opinion that was given by this House was that the entire Federal scheme is not acceptable to the House; and now this House cannot say that the Bill before us whose main purpose is to give statutory recognition to the Federal Railway Authority should be circulated for public opinion. What is there to get public opinion about? Here is a Bill which seeks to give power to the Federal Railway Authority to fix maximum and minimum rates. I do not see what useful purpose will be served by having this Bill circulated for opinion. It is quite obvious that in the ordinary normal course the Railway Authority have and should have the power to fix the rates. We are not opposed to that; and to that purpose whose opinion do you want? But the question is, are we going to be a party, directly or indirectly, to the enactment of this part VIII in the Government of India Act? I refuse to be a party to it and so long as we can help in this House we should not accept that position. Government have forced this whole Federal scheme upon us; we are opposed to it and it will be most inconsistent for us to quietly allow Government bit by bit and step by step to bring into force, directly or indirectly, this scheme to which we are so deadly opposed. Therefore, I cannot be a party to it on principle, so far as I am concerned; and although I have not had an opportunity of consulting the members of my Party, as I was away from Delhi for the last few days, I hope they will agree with me. So far as we are concerned, we are opposed to this Bill and we will, therefore, oppose also the motion for circulation.

**Mr. M. Asaf Ali** (Delhi: General): Sir, I welcome the expression of opinion which has proceeded from the Leader of the Independent Party and also the expression of opinion from the Leader of the Congress Nationalist Party. I think now I should explain the position of my Party. Unfortunately, it is not

always possible for us to ascertain the views of different Parties beforehand. I may say that if other parties are left out we are certainly in a minority although we may be the largest single group in the House. If only the Independent Party had met and come to this decision and if only the Congress Nationalist Party had met and come to this decision, we would have been the first to oppose not merely the consideration of this Bill but every stage of it; and we would be prepared to do so now if we are assured by the other Parties that they are behind us or with us. That is the position. We accept neither the principle of this Bill nor its provisions. We simply wanted a dilatory motion because we were not quite certain where the House stood. That is the only reason and that has been our difficulty all along. We would have taken up as strong an attitude as is possible against this Bill from the very start, but time and again our difficulty has been.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Sir, I am point out to the Honourable Member that the less he talks about it the better, because there is no cooperation and cohesion among the various Parties, ad it is not possible. If the Congress Party will in future observe a little more of that I think we might agree before hand.

**Mr. M. Asaf Ali**: I welcome this expression of opinion from the Leader of the Independent Party, and I can assure him that so far as we are concerned we are prepared to lend every possible co-operation to any other Party.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Do not say it, but do it.

**Mr. M. Asaf Ali**: We have been doing it all along. The only difficulty is that the Independent Party do not often meet. However, Sir, that is not the point. I am only trying to stress the fact that we are definitely opposed to the whole of this Bill,–to the principle as well as the contents of this Bill. And I am absolutely certain that the Mover of the motion from my Party will be only to ask the leave of the House to withdraw the

motion straightaway and allow us to kill the Bill outright.

.....

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar** (Law Member): Which one are you opposing?

**Mr. M. Das**: The one which has been moved by the Honourable Member for Communications.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): You should speak on the amendment that has been moved.

**Mr. B. Dass**: In opposing the motion for consideration I regret that the Honourable the Member for Communications has not been kept booked by his department.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The amendment before the House is the amendment for circulation.

**Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar** (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Cannot a Member speak both on the Bill and on the amendment?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): First the debate will be on circulation and then the debate will go on to the other amendments. You had better speak on the motion of Mr. Santhanam.

**Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar**: So far as we are concerned certainly we are opposed to the principle of the Bill and the motion for its consideration, but after hearing a number of friends speak, it is not possible to say whether they are supporting one side or the other, and as Members, contrary to their speeches, get into a different lobby, it is not possible to determine even today what the support is so far as any particular motion is concerned.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I have made it clear that I am

opposed to the motion for circulation.

**Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar**: We have heard speeches and.....

*Legislative, Assembly Debates, 1938, Vol. 1, pp. 481, 490-91*, 4993.

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## 195

### Statement to the press on the proposed League-Congress parleys, New Delhi, February 9, 1938.

In the course of a talk with an Associated Press representative Mr. M. A. Jinnah said that he had received letters from Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in connection with the proposed League-Congress parleys on the communal question. He would reply to them in due course. As they were of a confidential nature, however, he was not in a position to disclose their contents.

Referring to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's recent Press interview, in which the Congress-President-elect is reported to have said: "What the League wants I really do not know," Mr. Jinnah said that he was astonished to read it and added:

"I think it is the business of every true nationalist Indian not only to study, but concentrate his mind on the problem of minorities in this country. Mr. Bose seems to have very definite opinion on so many problems facing India and to learn from the President-elect that he does not know what Mussalmans want is a matter of regret.

"It only shows that even the foremost Hindu leaders are not really serious and this mentality is the same as that which

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru displayed when he said that he did not know what the argument was about.

"You cannot solve this problem by ignoring it, but by tackling it." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, February 10, 1938.*

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## 196

### Statement regarding "Shahidganj Day," New Delhi, February 10, 1938.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who received various inquiries regarding what should be done on February 18, which has been fixed as "Shahidganj Day" by the Council of the All-India Muslim League, explains in a statement that the resolution of the League Council is that having considered the grave situation which has arisen consequent upon the recent decision of the High Court of Lahore, the Council are of the opinion that a special session of the All-India Muslim League should be summoned for the purpose of deciding the final line of action without delay.

The Council also resolved that Friday, February 18, should be observed as "Shahidganj Day" and public meetings should be held on that day throughout the country to explain the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed on January 31. Mr. Jinnah wishes, therefore, that there should be no hartal and no processions.(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, February 12, 1938.*

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## 197

### Message to "The Voice of Muslim Youth" (The Muslim University Mazagine), New Delhi, February 14, 1938.

I wish the number of your Magazine that you are bringing out, every success. I hope it will truly represent the voice of the Muslim Youth, and be an organ that will advocate inndependently and fearlessly all the just grievances of the students, their opinion and sentiments and also their legitimate aspirations.

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## 198

### Statement regarding election of the Council of the All India Muslim League, New Delhi, February 15, 1938

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press:

"In the last annnual Session of the All India Muslim League it was decided that all elections of delegates and members of the Council of the All India Muslim League shall be held in accordance with the provisions of the new Constitution and shall be intimated to the office of the All India Muslim League by January 20, 1938. The time mentioned above was extended to March 31, 1938, in the last meeting of the Council held on January 31, 1938.

"In my opinion it is imperative that all these elections should be held at as early a date as possible so as to enable the Provincial Leagues to participate in the Special Session under the new Constitution of the League which is to be summoned without delay to decide upon the final line of action on the Shahidganj affairs. Therefore, I would suggest that all the

Provincial Leagues should apply for affiliation with the names of the President, Secretary and office-bearers by March 15, 1938. They should send the names of the members of the Council elected by them by March 15, 1938 and list of delegates by March 31, 1938. I hope that every Provincial League will rise to the occasion and send the names of their representatives to the Central Office, Ballimaran Street, Delhi, by the specified time so that every province may be adequately represented in the forthcoming Special Session in which the most vital issues are to be discussed." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, February 16, 1938.*

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## 199

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on "Election to the Central Legislative Assembly for the seat vacated by the Honourable Sir Muhammad Yakub", New Delhi, February 17, 1938.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: All I can do is. to send a copy of this question and of the thirty supplementaries which have been put and ask them to make any observations they like.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: May I know what steps were taken by the Local Government to notify the constituencies besides this being published in the provincial Gazette?

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: Those were answered before Mr. Jinnah was here.

*Legislative Assembly Debates, 1938, Vol.1, pp. 768-69*

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## 200

**Speech in reply to an address of welcome presented to him by the staff and students of Faiz-e-Aam High School, Meerut, February 20, 1938.**

Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League was not against achieving freedom of the country, and to free it from the yoke of British imperialism. They were ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with other communities of their motherland for the sake of their common motherland but he wanted that the Muslims should not be treated as subordinates or weaklings. (A.P.I).

*AFM/KU/QA/Clip2/p. 2-B.*

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## 201

**Speech in reply to the Address presented to him at a public meeting, Meerut, February 20, 1938.**

Mr. Jinnah addressed a public meeting in the town hall, where he was presented with a welcome address by the Meerut Municipal Board and some Muslim organizations and by Acchuts.

Addressing the meeting Mr. Jinnah dwelt on the policy and aims of the Muslim League and asked Muslims to muster strong on the platform of the League. He desired to know from the Hindus if they wanted the freedom of their country or of themselves only. If they wanted the freedom of the country, then they should unite with the biggest minority of the country before thinking of freeing their country.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that within this short period the Congress had begun to ask what the Muslims wanted. He said very shortly the time would come when the Congress, that is, the Hindus, would say: 'Take what you want'. He was sure and quite confident that there would be peace between the Congress and Muslim League.

Referring to those Muslims who were in the Congress, he remarked, that they were bound to come back to the League, but in case they did not, then he was glad that such undesirable persons had been got rid of and the Muslim League would be better for it. (A.P.I.)

*The Hindustan Times, February 22, 1938.*

**The Statesman adds :-**

Mr. Jinnah said that it appeared that in Meerut feelings between the two communities were unfriendly. The only solution, he said, lay in the two communities meeting as equals.

Addressing the meeting Mr. Jinnah thanked them for his reception and the addresses. Referring to the policy and programme of the Muslim League, he said that the League wanted freedom for the whole country and not for one community. The present was a critical time for Islam but he had faith that his community would rise to the occasion.

Replying to the depressed classes' address Mr. Jinnah said that he disliked the term "depressed classes" and always referred to them as "scheduled classes." The Muslim League, he said, wanted to safeguard the rights of all minorities. (F.O.C.)

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# 202

## Speech at the Meerut College, Meerut, February 21, 1938.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing the students of the Meerut College, said that students should learn to listen to different points of views and to think over them. It was no good to be influenced by one side only. It was essential for them to have a correct perspective of the issues before their country. Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that the minority question was the most fundamental question of this country, and it was engaging the attention of all politicians. As soon as this question was solved, the freedom of their country would be achieved by them.

He cited the example of Canada, where the majority and minority question of the two peoples, English and French, had engaged the attention of the politicians there. Though the differences in their culture and outlook were very slight, there were interdining and inter-marriage there are yet the French minority had to be appeased. Here in India, there was a vast difference between the two communities–the majority and the minority communities. The majority community, whose social fabric was quite different from the minority community, was consciously or unconsciously bound to impose its culture on the minority community. It was that fear, of the minority community that prompted them to safeguard their position. He, therefore, wanted a brake on majority community and thereby wanted to create a sense of security for the minority in the government of their country.

### Finding a solution

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said that if in other countries of the world conflicting parties had found a solution, why should not they find a solution? He advised young men to try to

understand one another and discuss matters with dignity, decorum and fairplay. (A.P.I.)

*The Hindustan Times, February 22, 1938.*

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## 203

### Interview regarding appointment of Sir S.M. Sulaiman as Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University Aligarh, March 28, 1938.

*The fact that the Hon'ble Sir Shah Mohammad Sulaiman is to be the next Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University was revealed in an interview with Mr. M. A. Jinnah.*

Mr. Jinnah said that there were two candidates for the Vice-Chancellorship, the election for which is taking place at Aligarh on April 16. They were Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad and Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan. In order to avoid conflict and create or emphasize parties among the Members of the Court, who constituted the electorate and the after-effects of the result of the election which might have created an undesirable atmosphere, several leaders conferred notably Sir Abdur Rahim, Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman and the Raja of Mahmudabad in consultation with Sir Ziauddin Ahmed and Nawab Ismail Khan. A solution was found and both the candidates agreed to stand down. It was decided that Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman should stand as a candidate. His name was proposed by Sir Abdur Rahim and seconded by Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah was glad that both Sir Ziauddin and Nawab Muhammadan Ismail have agreed to give Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman every assistance and co-operation which he, as Vice-Chancellor, may require. The interests of the University required that there should be harmony and co-operation

between all who have the welfare of the institution at heart.

*The Stateman, March 30, 1938.*

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## 204

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill", New Delhi, March 30, 1938.

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to amend the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable the Law Member, the Honourable Sir Henry Craik Mr. J.A. Throne, Mr. E. Conran-Smith, Mr. N.M. Joshi, Mr. F.E. James, Mr. Lalchand Navalri, Sardar Sant Singh, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Mr. M. Ghiasuddin, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, Mr. Sri Prakasa, Mr. N.V. Gadgil, Mr. M. Asaf Ali, Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh, Seth Govind das, and the Mover, and that the number of members whose presence shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Committee shall be five."

Sir, the applause that greeted the introduction of this motion which I have just read shows that the mere man is apologetic and wants to undo the wrong that he has so far done to the women in this earth. Sir, so far, every country and India particularly is ruled by man, and man-made laws have all along governed the conditions of women and as woman, she has all along suffered. Adam sinned and Eve had to atone for that sin. The accounts of modern Adams show that they have all along sinned and the women the modern Eves–suffer Hereby.....

.....

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to amend the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration.

I would only add that the Congress Party supports the Select Committee's Report and it would like the Bill to be immediately placed on the Statute-book.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Motion moved:

"That the Bill to amend the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration."

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar (Law Member): I think at the outset I should express the deep regret of the Government that this House will not have the assistance of a lady Member on this occasion.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Sarda Act is not under discussion now. It is the amending Bill.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: The amending Bill is to strengthen the Sarda Act. Am I not entitled to say that that Act has done nothing, and therefore, this amendment is not god and should be thrown out.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Nobody seems to be inclined to discuss the motion on its merits. However, I must ask Honourable Members to confine themselves to the motion before the House and not go into a general discussion of the Sarda Act.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: This is an amendment of the sarda Act and wants to strengthen that Act itself. Am I not right to show.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can discusses those provisions which are now before the House. If he discusses those provisions there is no objection.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): That is exactly his point. His point is this, that the Sarda Act itself is a dead letter and he is opposed to its amendment.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): So far as that is concerned, that is a different question.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: He can show that the Sarda Act has become useless and it is waste of paper now to seek to amend that Act and pass this amendment.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If his case is that these provisions will be futile in order to carry out the policy of the Act, that is another matter. He can address himself to the point in that way.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuzanvi**: That is exactly my point that it will be futile, it will be a dead letter. If you take the statistics you will find that the few cases that were started were started with a view to blackmail the rich people. Not one poor man has yet been prosecuted throughout India.....

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1938,*
*Vol.III, pp. 2386, 2403.*

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## 205

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the Resolution regarding "Consulting the Legislative Assembly on Trade Agreements", New Delhi, April 1, 1938

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** (Madras (City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, I shall be grateful to you if you allow me to move my Resolution and speak, without standing up in my seat.

Sir, I move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that no steps should be taken to conclude a fresh Indo-British Trade Agreement or any trade agreement of a similar nature without first consulting the Assembly."

I have made many speeches in this House; and God willing, I hope to make many more; but I will make no speech today, for I cannot. I merely express my earnest hope and conviction that the mute appeal of a sick man, on behalf of his country, will perhaps reach the hearts of my colleagues in this House better than the most eloquent speech which can be made on behalf of this Resolution and that this House will pass this Resolution, which, I submit, is a very modest and a very reasonable one. It merely asks that the Government shall conclude no Indo-British Trade Agreement without first consulting the Assembly by an overwhelming majority. I move, Sir.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Resolution moved:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that no steps should be taken to conclude a fresh Indo-British Trade Agreement or any trade agreement of a

similar nature without first consulting the Assembly."

. . . . .

**Mr. H. Dow**: Now, the gentleman who opened the debate, Mr. Santhanam, said, I think, at first that if Government only held by their previous undertakings, there would have been no reason for bringing this Resolution. I think that is what he said—I do not wish to misinterpret him. (The Honourable Member nodded assent.) I say straightaway that Government do hold by their previous undertakings, and that, therefore, on his own admission, there was no need for this Resolution to be brought.

Secondly, he referred to the convention of fiscal autonomy. The convention of fiscal autonomy, as I understand it, is this: when the Legislature and the Government of India are in accord, the Secretary of State will not interfere to over-rule them. Mr. Santhanam seems to think that the fiscal autonomy convention is something quite different. He suggests that it is time we began to apply it. I say that we have been applying it continuously and consistently. But he seems to think that what is meant by the fiscal autonomy convention is that we should first of all bring all fiscal matters before this House, then when the House comes to a certain conclusion we should be bound to accept that conclusion, that, therefore, the Government of India would be in accord with the Legislature, and everything would be settled accordingly. That is not the fiscal autonomy convention: the convention as I have explained it has been consistently acted on by the Government of India.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): May I interrupt the Honourable Member? Supposing the Government of India conclude an agreement and supposing the Legislature does not agree, what will happen?

**Mr. H. Dow**: If the Government of India are not in

agreement with the Legislature.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: The Government of India have concluded the agreement, and until you have concluded the agreement the Legislature will not know anything about it; after you have concluded the agreement when the Legislature comes to know about it, supposing it does not agree with the Government of India, what will happen?

**Mr. H. Dow**: That is quite obvious. The making of a treaty is an act of the Executive Government, and if subsequently it is found that the Legislature.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Where is the room for the fiscal autonomy to work."

**Mr. H. Dow**: In that case I admit there is no room for it. I agree it does not come into operation.

.....

**Sir H. P. Mody**:.....I submit that the Government would be well advised to take note of the recommendation of the House that if an Indo-British Trade Agreement is negotiated it will be submitted to the approval of this House. There is a precedent on this very issue, and I submit that it might well be followed even when the Government of India take up a position which constitutionally may be perfectly proper.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Are the Government prepared to do so?

**Sir H. P. Mody**: I would like to ask my Honourable friend whether he is prepared to give an assurance of that

nature. Mr. Dow just now stated.....

....

**Mr. F. X. De Souza**: That, Sir, is what I wish to say and I respectfully commend that the Government of India accept this resolution.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I wish to intervene in this debate because this is a question which is of very great importance not only to us on this side of the House, not only to the commercial world in India, but I think it is of vital importance to Government also. Sir, in the first instance I congratulate the Government that according to their promise, as they gave us, of fiscal autonomy during that brief period which ceased as soon as the division was taken, that very brief period during which this Assembly enjoyed complete responsibility and passed a Resolution asking the Government to terminate this agreement, they terminated it. I think I must congratulate the Opposition Bench here and I congratulate the Government on that side that for a brief period of three days we did enjoy complete responsibility, and our decision was carried out, namely, that the Ottawa Agreement be denounced.

Well, Sir, I do not wish to embarrass the Government in the slightest degree, but I do not approve of what they have done since, of how matters have been delayed and so forth. That is past history, and I do not wish to embarrass the Government in the slightest degree. We have got this Resolution tabled in terms which it becomes very difficult for one to defend having regard to this hybrid Constitution under which we are working. The Resolution demands that before the agreement is concluded it must be placed before this House. Now, to that Sir Mody, as a practical businessman and from the constitutional point of view, raised two points. He says from a practical point of view it is very difficult really to carry on negotiations if we have to bring

the draft terms before 144 Members, and that is not the way to carry on negotiations. From a practical point of view that is sound. The Government bring forward the additional ground – I suppose because even the Government adopted a practical point of view how can we possibly really divorce ourselves from our responsibility, because after all the responsibility is ours, and you are only an irresponsible Opposition, how can we divorce ourselves from our responsibility to conclude an agreement, and therefore we msut conclude the agreement. Under a truly democratic parliamentary Government no doubt the parliamentary executive would be entitled to conclude an agreement, but the difference between the present Government under the present Constitution and a parliamentary executive government is a very vast one. A parliamentary executive government no doubt will be free to conclude any agreement with any other country, but they will take precious good care to see that whatever agreement they do conclude will receive the approval of the Legislature. You do not do that. Have you taken any single person into your confidence? No. These negotiations are a close secret, but here again I want to give the due to the Government when they deserve it. They have at any rate appointed a non-official Committee of influential responsible businessmen, and no doubt they are taking their assistance and their help. But, Sir, that may be, and that would happen in any country, even a parliamentary executive will naturally be in touch with those vital interests which will be affected by any agreement that they may conclude. Therefore, there is nothing very extraordinary that you have done. But the position remains this: whereas fiscal autonomy – now the Honourable Member on behalf of the Government said that fiscal autonomy comes in when the Government and the Legislature agree. It is a very sound interpretation. But may I ask Government when shall we have the opportunity of agreeing with you or disagreeing with you? This will be when you say to me you are going to conclude an agreement. We had an opportunity of expressing our opinion

whether the Ottawa Agreement should be terminated or not, and we exercised our judgment. We said it should be terminated. Now, when shall we have that – shall I say ephemeral, illusive thing, that *Il dorado* – fiscal autonomy under which we shall meet together and have an opportunity to say that we agree with you or disagree with you. The Honourable Member says that with regard to the Ottawa agreement the Statute regulating tariffs and customs is there, and he said that Government cannot possibly help coming to this House if they want to increase the measure of protection which is provided under it.

**Mr. H. Dow**: Measure of duty.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: That is to say of increasing it.

**Mr. H. Dow**: I only intervened, because there is a difference between protective duties and other duties; Government can either increase or decrease protective duties without legislation. I am not objecting to the Honourable Member's meaning, but I am only trying to prevent him using the word "protection" in a sense in which it may be misunderstood by other in the House.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I understood the Honourable Member. My point is this. I am not concerned with the question of increasing or decreasing duties at present. My point is this – that in certain eventualities the Government will be obliged to come to this House for the purpose of a legislative measure being enacted. Am I right to that extent?

**Mr. H. Dow**: Yes.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Then this House will have the opportunity. I ask the Honourable Member whether he is really making a concession to this House. No. Then, may I know what was the force of that point, the object of it? We all know it: if you are going to enact a legislative measure you have to come here.

Is that what we are now discussing, whether you will come here when you require any legislative measure or not? What has that got to do with the issue? The real issue is this. It is very unfortunate that, situated as we are and following this hybrid Constitution which is neither fish nor fowl nor good red herring, taking all that into account and without giving my seal of approval, I think the government in all reason ought at any rate to assure this House while maintaining on the whole that they cannot come to the House before an agreement is concluded – although I do not approve of it, I can understand that position – while you can take up that position, but if you go further and take up the position that even after you have concluded the agreement you are not coming to this House except, as the Honourable Member indicated, when a legislative enactment is necessary – that is a position which is a most unreasonable position for the government to take; and it is not only unreasonable but you will justly and rightly create the impression and give room for people to believe that there is some hanky-panky that is going on behind this; and even if you conclude an agreement which may have a dog's chance to go through this House, if you create this atmosphere, believe me you will never succeed in getting the agreement through, if you poison the atmosphere by this attitude.

What is the obstacle in your way? Why are you trying to add to the suspicion which is already being created? What is the obstacle to say frankly and freely on the floor of the House "In the circumstances we are entitled to conclude this agreement and we will do our best in the interests of India"? If that agreement is fair and reasonable to both parties, even the Honourable Member speaking on behalf of the Congress said that this House will meet that reasonable attitude. I think I cannot go further than the Honourable Member who spoke on behalf of the Congress, and as far as I am concerned that has been my position always and will remain always, unless you also

drive me into the wilderness. My position is this; that you as a responsible or irresponsible Government – we say you are irresponsible, you say you are responsible and not only responsible but trustees of India and you are responsible to the Parliament and to the Secretary of State and goodness only knows who else, but you are not responsible to us – but whatever your character and constitution may be, are you really going to enter into an agreement as a decent Government which can be maintained to be fair and reasonable to both countries? If you are, then what have you got to fear? Of whom are you afraid? Of what are you afraid? You may say "Well, what we may consider reasonable the House may not consider reasonable". Now, you will be judged if not at that moment a little later on when the dust of controversy is laid: you will be judged then, and please do not think that this country is entirely composed of people who have got no brains, who have got no intelligence and no reason. As I say, speaking for myself, believe me and I mean it – if your agreement is a reasonable and fair one to both the countries, I shall certainly in the interests of my own country have no other choice or alternative but to support it. But surely it is not too much to ask the Government to reassure this House, on the floor of this House today, that while they may claim the entire and the sole responsibility for concluding this agreement they should reassure us that once the agreement is concluded they will place it before us for our consideration. Once you place this agreement before the House, whatever Resolution we may pass – and we can only say we approve of it or disapprove of it or we may suggest some amendments – I cannot think of any other course and you again as a responsible Government are not bound to take any notice of it. But you have at least satisfied this one condition, which you can without any harm or injustice to anybody, without anything being taken away from you. Reassure this House and reassure public opinion that after the agreement is concluded you will place it before the House for disapproval or approval as the House may consider proper. What

is the difficulty in your way? Why should you refuse that? Therefore, if the Government are ready and willing to say that they will place this agreement after it is concluded for the approval or disapproval of this Assembly – and that is the Resolution which this Assembly passed in denouncing the Ottawa Agreement, that is the verdict of the House also if you do not today even meet us to that extent, then believe me that you will be doing the greatest possible harm to yourselves and you will poison the atmosphere in the country, and you will confirm the rumours and allegations and the suspicion that are already abroad; and, therefore, I would beg of you to give this assurance to the House and you can do it and there is nothing wrong in it.

**Honourable Members**: The question may now be put.

**The President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that no steps should be taken to conclude a fresh Indo-British Trade Agreement or any trade agreement of a similar nature without first consulting the Assembly."

The motion was adopted.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates 1938, Vol: III, pp. 2535, 2552, 2555 & 2561-64.*

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### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill", New Delhi, April 7 - December 9, 1938.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further

to amend the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922."

The motion was adopted.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg**: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

. . . . .

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922 he referred to a Select Committee consisting of Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, Mr. S. Satyamurthi, Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi, Mr. B.B. Varma, Mr. S.P. Chambers, Mr. J.F. Sheehy, Mr. M.N. Joshi, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Mr. H.A. Sathar H. Essak Sait, Mr. A. Aikman, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya and the Mover and that the number of members whose presence shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Committee shall be five."

. . . . .

**Mr. Manu Subedar**:.....I am very glad if that is so, but if we find that some of the other apprehensions are well based, we should be allowed to represent these to the proper authorities, to this House and to the Select Committee, Sir, I support the motion for circulation.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I do not propose to venture to examine the various clauses of this Bill on this occasion. It is a very complicated Bill and therefore I do not think that it is necessary for me on this

occasion to deal with its provisions. I understand that it was said by some Honourable Member that there is the principle of the Bill to be considered when you are referring the Bill to a Select Committee. Well, I do not understand that argument at all as far as this Bill is concerned. This is an amending Bill, and the principle of the original Act is whether you should tax incomes or not, – and as I have said, this is only an amending Bill. If I was against that system of taxing incomes, then I can understand the point and I could say that I was opposed to it, that I am opposed to the substantive Act and I am opposed to the amending Bill, and in that case I shall certainly vote against the motion for reference of the Bill to a select Committee and I shall say that I do not want to look at it. Sir, this Bill, to put it very shortly, is composed of certain clauses. Certain provisions are intended to tighten up; the machinery, and certain provisions are intended to device ways and means and methods of preventing evasion. There are certain matters which are entirely new and which are intended to tap new sources upon which the tax could be imposed, such as a person who is domiciled in India and is resident in India with regard to his foreign income. He has got to disclose that. Under the present law that is not necessary. It is not taxable unless it is received in this country. So, it may be that I am opposed strongly to some of the clauses. When the Bill comes from the Select Committee, I may therefore try my best and persuade Honourable Members of the House that particular clauses should be rejected because they are not acceptable to us. I would like those clauses to be deleted from the Bill. It is open to me to move an amendment to modify it or to alter any particular clause. But that stage will arise only after the Select Committee stage is over.

Now, today we have got a motion moved by the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill that this Bill be referred to a Select Committee. I am not committing myself in the slightest degree to any one of these clauses of the Bill. As

against that we have a motion that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion on or before 15th September. Then there are other amendments giving 1st September and so on. Now, the question is this. I am glad that my Honourable friend, Mr. Manu Subedar, has made it clear that this side of the House has no intention – no section of the House has any intention – of killing this Bill. We may be opposed to certain clause, we may strenuously fight for the modification and alteration of certain clauses of the Bill, but it is not the intention of any section of this House to kill this Bill by dilatory methods or by obstructive methods. That was the allegation or the charge or the insinuation levelled against some section of this House. On the other hand the charge levelled against the Government is this: that the Honourable the Finance Member is determined, irrespective of the wishes of any section of this House, to proceed according to his time table and his time table is this: July, Select Committee. His argument for the meeting of the select Committee is this. Surely there is nothing new in this. For the past two years we have been thinking of this income-tax revision. You have got here a huge big volume of so many hundreds of pages where all commercial interests have expressed their opinion. But let me remind the Honourable the Finance Member that surely it is one thing to carry on an enquiry, it is one thing to get opinions for the purpose of enquiry, it is one thing to get the opinions when the recommendations are made, but it is a totally different thing when the Bill is introduced in the Legislature. Remember, Sir, every clause of the Bill has got to be examined as to how it will work, what effect it will have. This is no more than 500 pages document and this Bill is only 75 clauses. But all these 75 clauses will have the operation of law and the neck of every man who possesses any money will be in the hands of the Incometax Commissioner. He will say section so and so has been contravened and the head of the assessee will be demanded as punishment. Surely, Sir, this is a very different situation

altogether. This Bill is of vital importance which affects not only the commercial community and the rich for whom I have very little sympathy – the more you have the less you want to pay – but it affects a very large body of people who have got a very limited income. Further there are many provisions here and the income-tax machinery is very often, I do not say always, made the engine of oppression. It is very often the machinery and channel of harassment to various people. Now the point is this: this machinery which you say you are tightening up, these new provisions which you are introducing, these additional taxes which you are imposing – surely all these clauses require some consideration by those upon whom this hammer of the tax collector will fall. You cannot expect a Bill of this character to be passed at once. Here you are introducing the Bill at the fag end of the Session and you say that the Select Committee must begin in July. The charge against the Government is that they are trying to rush the Bill through. What I want the Honourable Member to state frankly and straightforwardly, just as we have stated, that he has no intention of rushing this bill through. We say we have no intention of killing the Bill. Then, let us be friends. I say that it is not going to be your time table. Well, then, let us find out as businessmen and as sensible men – let us on both sides agree upon – a time table having regard to the utmost consideration and respect for each other's convenience and each other's wishes.

Now, if that is so, then it is perfectly futile to suggest that this motion to refer the Bill to Select Committee should be made in Simla. Why in Simla? Why not now? Provided of course that it is not going to be the time table of the Finance Member. The public must have adequate and sufficient and reasonable time to express their opinion, and having regard to the business of everybody concerned, let us fix a time table. Suppose you say that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion. Then the Bill comes back. You will then make a motion for reference to

the Select Committee. I ask the Honourable Member "Do you think that in any circumstances of the case, this Bill could be refused to be referred to a Select Committee?" Then, we agree that it must be referred to a Select Committee. Very well, It is not that we are afraid to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. By all means do it. It is your Select Committee. But mind you, the Select Committee is not going to function till a particular date which will be sufficient to give all the interests concerned, a reasonable time to give their opinions.

Now, Sir, we have been weighing the pros and cons. I have no particular object in seeking to have a particular date. Every Member of my Party has been considering this, we spent a good deal of time over it. There were several factors which we had to consider. We assumed so many things. In fact one factor which I assumed till now has now disappeared beyond doubts. I understand that the term of the Assembly has been extended by one year more. Until this morning I was not sure of that. If the term of the Assembly had not been extended, I think in spite of his determination, the Honourable the Finance Member would not have been able to leave to posterity this great measure. I do not think he would have succeeded in his attempt. Now we have got to face the issue today because the assembly is extended and, therefore, the Finance Member is the only hand that can pilot it and we have got to face him now. Then if the Assembly session in Simla is going to take place about the end of August, let the Bill be circulated for eliciting opinion which should be received by the 15th August. That will give four months to the public, and you can get your opinions even from Great Britain if you want. But I think without going to Great Britain some of us do possess an adequate library to give an opinion as to how some of these clauses have worked. Anyhow it may be more satisfactory to get an opinion from Great Britain as to some of the clauses and how they have worked and as to the exact effect of those clauses which follow the English Law. After the opinions have

come in by the 15th August, you can call your Select Committee and, on the assumption that the Session begins in the last week of August, the Select Committee will have one week or perhaps more to consider the Bill. Then on odd days during the Session the Select Committee can proceed with their work. I expect the Select Committee will not be able to finish their labours there and the Session must be terminated by the end of September as the Puja holidays being early. Thereafter I believe the majesty of the Government of India will have to come down to earth from Simla and it will require a great deal of packing and unpacking and Sir James Grigg will surely be very busy and he must have some time to settle down in Delhi. I do not know when the Gods of the Simla hills settle down here, but I hope that for the convenience of everybody, on this occasion at any rate, they will settle down by the middle of October. Then the Select Committee can proceed with their work further and I should say that by the end of October they will be able to finish their work because they will get a fortnight or 15 days. Then you can have the Session either in the first week of November or in the middle of November at the latest: and from our experience of two previous Bills and making all allowances for the number of amendments, etc., I should think that in four weeks we should be able to finish this Bill one way or the other, i.e., by the middle of December. I have taken into account the fact that just before Christmas, according to practice, His Excellency the Viceroy has to go to Calcutta. I do not know the date.....

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar** (Law Member): It just occurred to me that probably my Honourable friend is assuming that the Executive Council meetings are held at Calcutta in December. They used to be held towards the end of December and sometimes in the first week of January, but that was not done last year.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No, but His Excellency the Viceroy.....

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: He went down about the 12th December.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: That is exactly what I am saying. I am trying to meet any objection that may be raised that his Excellency the Viceroy is also the Governor General and that if he has to go to Calcutta by the 12th December the Session msut end before that, because questions may be raised which may require the attention of the Governor-General and my Honourable friend there may have to see the Governor General.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: There is the telephone.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Yes, certainly. But I am only saying that in order to avoid all that you can finish your Select Committee meetings by the end of October and you can fix the Session at any time you like. Therefore, Sir, my definite suggestion is that the Finance Member should give an undertaking that the Bill will be circulated by executive order for eliciting opinion by the 15th August, that the Select Committee should finish their labours by the *end of October* and the special Session should be held in November on such date as may be convenient to all concerned. If that undertaking is given, my Party feel that no useful purpose will be served by allowing Government to make another motion for Select Committee in Simla. We do not gain anything by adopting the course – as the Bill msut be referred to Select Committee in any case. If there were even a remote possibility of rejecting this Bill straightaway or rejecting the motion to refer it to Select Committee and throwing it out, I could understand it; but that is not possible and nobody suggests such a course, so it has to be referred to select Committee. Therefore, why waste time. We should get on with the business and tackle this Bill on its merits both in the Select Committee and also in the special Session, and deal with each clause on its merits. Therefore, I do not see any particular

object in asking for circulation by the 15th September and saying that the Finance Member should then make a motion for reference to Select Committee during the Simla Sessions. Let us have a Select Committee ready; let us accept this motion and agree to this time table and let us get on with the work. And then I hope both the parties will be acquitted, one of rushing the Bill through and the other of trying to kill it. And as far as I know and have been able to understand, the public only want time and reasonable time to express their opinion. I think they are justified in asking for it and are entitled to have a reasonable time – they ought to have at least four months. Sir, I have nothing more to say and I am prepared to support the motion for the Select Committee on the express understanding and undertaking being given on behalf of Government on the floor of this House as outlined by me as to the time table and circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg**: After the speech to which we have just listened, it would be for the convenience of the House if I responded to the invitation of the Honourable Member and defined my attitude rather more precisely than I did in my opening speech. Mr. Jinnah said that his party would be able to support the motion for the Select Committee if I gave an undertaking that by an executive order the Bill would be circulated and the general public would be given time until the 15th August to express their opinion. To that request I can certainly respond. I can certainly give him the undertaking that I will circulate the Bill by an executive order and that the public would be given until the 15th August to express their opinion. As regards his detailed time table I do not want to commit myself to it in detail. His estimate is a little optimistic, and I do not think he wanted me to commit myself in detail. As regards the operative part of the undertaking he wanted, I will certainly give it now.

**Babu Baijnath Bajoria** (Marwari Association: Indian

Commerce): I rise to support the motion.....

. . . . .

*The House resumed discussion on the Bill on November 26, 1938.*

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: ..... Our position then was that so long as the Government remained irresponsible and unresponsive.

The Members of the opposition were perfectly right in not voting supplies. We demanded that the claim for responsible government should be conceded not merely by holding out promises and assurances but by actually doing something which would be an earnest of their real intentions. I believe my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, also was a party to throwing out the Finance Bill at that time.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): No.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I think the Honourable Member voted with us. I, however, accept my Honourable friend's word. Probably if I refer to the debates, he will be found to be correct and my impression may be wrong. I do not want to differ from him on the floor of the House on a question like that. His word is sufficient for my purpose to give up that position.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: If you do not accept my word, you can verify from the official reports. I have not voted against the Finance Bill in 1924.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I shall not say anything against his word. All the same, he has suggested to me that I should verify from the official reports. If I find that my impression is wrong, I shall bring it to the notice of my Honourable friend.....

. . . . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Sir, before I proceed, Sir, I wish to state that I referred to the debate and I found that the statement

I made that Mr. Jinnah voted with us is not correct. He did not vote at all. He denied that he voted against the Finance Bill. He did not vote; he remained neutral. He said I was not right. To that extent his statement is correct.....

.....

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: (Bombay Northern Division - Non Muhammadan Rural).....In other words, it would be an entire error of judgement to say that, in the language of my Honourable friend, Mr. Aikman, because I cannot get all, I will take none. This is a piece of legislation which at all events in the large part of the Bill which remains is bound to be useful. I hope, therefore, our action tending towards some possible privation on his part in respect of his pet theory would not lead him to persist in his determination, and I have no doubt myself that when he reconsiders the benefits which remain, he will continue with the Bill.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, we have been giving our very careful consideration to this clause 4 and we find that there are innumerable difficulties in our way in supporting this clause 4 of the Bill. The first and the foremost question that we considered was whether this principle of accural basis, instead of the remittance basis which exists under the present law, is a principle that we should endorse, – whether it should be accepted in the interests of India, or whether it might not be detrimental to the interests of India, or whether it might not be detrimental to the interests of India, situated as we are. We revolved that in our minds and we thought and thought over the matter, and we found that it might work an enormous amount of hardship and injustice in many cases. Sir, the object of the Honourable the Finance Member in substituting the accrual basis for the remittance basis was to create a new source of revenue. First and foremost, there are thousands and thousands of small traders who would have been penalized in various ways, handicapped, and harassed

if this clause and the machinery set up in this Bill had been passed. Therefore, on principle, we had very great difficulty in readily accepting clause 4. But if some method could have been found by some adjustment, we were still prepared to re-examine that principle in the light of substantial modifications of this Bill.

Then, this Bill will create a situation which cannot be disputed, if we take clauses 4 and 5 together, and which will undoubtedly be a preferential treatment so far as the non-domiciled Europeans are concerned. We considered that point very carefully. Mr. Aikman said that there may be a difference of opinion whether this clause 4 together with clause 5 would mean a preferential treatment to the Europeans or not. I do not think there is any doubt of any kind about it, because there is not the slightest doubt in my mind at least – and I have examined it very carefully – that clauses 4 and 5 together undoubtedly give a *de-facto* exemption to the Europeans. Then, what are we to do now with this clause 4? There are many other difficulties, the details of which I need not go into, partly because the Leader of the Opposition, my Honourable friend, Mr. Desai, has already narrated them. Sir, taking all these matters into consideration, we have definitely come to the conclusion that it is not possible for us to give our support to this clause as it stand's now. It is true that there is, and to that extent I entirely sympathise with the Finance Member, a very select number of our countrymen who could be counted on fingers – I should say about 25 or 30 of them – who are undoubtedly taking the utmost advantage of escaping the tax, which they might legitimately be called upon to pay. I have no doubt in my mind, as far as I have been able to apply my mind, that the Finance Member, if he can catch these 25 or 30 persons, will be able to get a very substantial amount of revenue. But in order to catch them, we have got a very complicated and difficult measure which is almost intended to strike heavily a very large body of our countrymen abroad, who do not get adequate protection or the

encouragement of the Government of India, who have difficulties in the way of exchange restrictions of taking out money from certain countries and who would be obliged to send their returns and are likely to be harassed and put to a great deal of difficulties and trouble. If in order to try and catch a small number, a machinery of this kind is to be set up with a discrimination and preferential treatment to non-British Indians, then it is a position which it is very difficult for this House to accept. I quite understand the Finance Member or the Government of India saying: "We were trying to tax or, if you like, to catch those who are best able to bear the burden and who ought to make a proper contribution to the revenue; and, if you do not accept this, of course the money will have to be taken from somewhere else, because the Government must be carried on, and probably the result of it would be that the burden will fall upon those who deserve least of such an imposition of burden upon them." Sir, that may vb regretted, but it cannot be helped. Taking everything into consideration, the pros and the cons, the advantages and the disadvantages, we have definitely come to the conclusion that it is not possible for us to support clause 4 as it stands in the present Bill. Therefore, my Party is unable to give its support.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** (Fiance Member): Sir, I think it is necessary to clear the issues before the House comes to a decision. The original line taken by the Congress Party – certainly by their Press – was that they could not possibly support this clause because it discriminated in favour of Europeans. That objection appeared in the speech of the Leader of the Muslim League Party and I want to dispose of that. The European Group have also come to the conclusion that they do not want discrimination in their favour and, therefore, in order to avoid that discrimination, they ask that Indian millionaires should be let off as well as themselves. That is their method of avoiding discrimination. The Congress Party, which has made so

much of this discrimination, is now rather piping down on that note and it is talking about the hardship to Indian traders aboard including the millionaire who places a large part of his fortune abroad. The discrimination issue appeared in Mr. Jinnah's remarks. As far as Mr. Jinnah's remarks were concerned about the hardship to the small trader, I believe that they are susceptible of being met to a very large extent.

Now, let us come to the discrimination issue and I want to test the *bona fides* of the House on that. During my last speech on this subject I mentioned several absurd results which would follow from the deletion of the proviso completely. There certainly are cases which would have to be provided for if we decided to get nearer the residence basis. Objection was made by the Party opposite to unduly favourable treatment of British companies operating in India because in their case residence and domicile were to be regarded as the same thing and residence was defined as the central control and management being in this country. I just want to make quite certain on what grounds the House is taking its decision. If it is taking its decision because it objects to the taxation of Indians, that is one thing. If it is taking this decision because it objects to discrimination between Europeans and Indians, that is another. Therefore I ask the Leaders.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: May I point out to the Honourable Member that I tried my very best to get from him an answer on the point of the discriminatory proviso? I think he will bear me out that he was unable to meet me and, therefore, naturally we could not consider anything more.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: Sir, so far as I am concerned, we actually applied for previous sanction for deleting this proviso, but that has been refused by the Governor General.

.....

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg**: If the accrual

basis goes obviously the discrimination goes, and it goes by destroying about three-quarters of the revenue in the Bill.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Sir, I think it is a pity that the Honourable the Finance Member is taking up the attitude that he has done. Surely, if he has any desire to save this Clause 4 in a manner which will be acceptable to this House, then in the first instance I think it is very wrong of him to say that he was testing the *bona fides* of this House. In the second instance, I think it is equally wrong, if I may respectfully point out to him, to attribute any motives to any particular party and say that this party really had some other motive and were taking shelter behind the discrimination point. If he.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is making a second speech. The Honourable Member is quite entitled to say whether he is agreeable to consider the question of postponement or not, but he cannot make a second speech.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am, therefore, submitting to the Finance Member that if he really and genuinely desires, – for up to the present moment he has given us no inkling at all, – to confer with us in the proper spirit, I do not see any objection at all, because I am really a believer in compromise or adjustment in the interests of Indians first, second and last. And, therefore, I do not want to treat the offer of the Finance Member in a manner which might mean rejection, and I am quite ready to discuss the matter with him.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: There is one other matter which my Honourable friend forgot and that is that even on the definition of "residence" I did my best to get several amendments tabled as to which also sanction has been refused.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The position now is that an offer has been made by the

Honourable the Finance Member that if the House agrees to postpone the consideration of this matter today, he will consider whether he would not be prepared to accept certain amendments in respect to the discriminatory clause. The Chair has to find out from the House generally whether they are agreeable to allow this discussion to stand over.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: Then, what is going to be done?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir abdur Rahim): The Chair does not know; that is for the Honourable Members themselves to consider.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I take it that if the House agrees upon that, the Finance Member will meet the Leaders of the Parties?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg**: I shall endeavour to find a basis acceptable to the House as a whole. But I want to make one preliminary observation. I take it that as the House is willing to consider an attempt to find a basis of removing by another method than that of deleting the whole clause.....

. . . . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I cannot give an undertaking to the Finance Member unless he allows me to argue with him even on the propriety of retaining the principle of accrual and urge my difficulties in regard to that.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir abdur Rahim): Then, does the Chair take it that in the circumstances the House does not desire the postponement of the discussion?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I submit, Sir, that an attempt should be made, without any party or anybody being committed to anything, and we should see whether we can get the Finance Member to understand our point of view.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg**: I am quite content to leave it at that. As regards that last little gibe. I quite understand the point of view of the Honourable the Leader of the Muslim League Party.

.....

**Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar**: .... I am not in favour of the rules of the British Act being applied, I therefore, heartily support this amendment.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I would like to say a few words about this clause. I do not think that it can be disputed that as long as the trust for the period or the two periods mentioned in the amendment is irrevocable, it cannot be said that the property is at the disposal of the settlor during those periods. If the property is not at the disposal of the settlor or the donor, then I quite agree that it will be unfair during this period to make the settlor pay the assessment. But the amendment, as it stands, in my opinion, is not very clear, because it leaves a loophole, and the loophole is this that, if I make a trust revocable for six years, then what happens to it when the power of revoke arises or matures, because it assumed its character in its inception to the extent that it is irrevocable for six years?

**Mr. M. Ananthasayana Ayyangar**: So long as it is not revoked.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: That is where the difficulty comes in, and, therefore, I discussed the matter with Leader of the Opposition, and it is only a question of making it quite clear that, so long as the power to revoke does not mature or does not arise, the settlor will not be liable. But, as soon as that power to revoke arises or matures, then the settlor will be liable for assessment. If it is made clear to that extent, then I see no reason why the Government should insist upon assessing the

settlor when virtually he is not the owner and the property is not at his disposal during the period during which the trust is irrevocable.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai** (Bombay Northern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Mr. President, before I come to the point raised by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, there is one matter which I wish to make clear, because, speaking with great deference, a considerable amount of misapprehension appears to have arisen on the true reading of clause 17(c), which says:

> "All income arising to any person by virtue of a settlement or disposition whether revocable or not, and whether effected before or after the commencement of the Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Act, 1938, from assets remaining the property of the settlor or disponer shall be deemed to be income the settlor or disponer, and all income arising to any person by virtue of a revocable transfer of assets shall be deemed to be income of the transferor."

Speaking on that, I am bound to point out that whatever may be the ideas of my Honourable friend, as a matter of law, if through the intervention of the trustee, a trust is sought to be created, which is the only method by which it is usually done in this country – "A" transfers property to "B" though the whole of the beneficiary interest may not be exhausted, the transfer to "B" the trustee is a complete transfer. Therefore let there be no mistake about this.....

. . . . .

**Mr. S. P. Chambers** (Government of India: Nominated official):.....therefore a dishonest person will be better off than an honest person; and that is a position which we wish to avoid. However, Sir, I understand that it is the general feeling of the House that the maximum of twice the penalty is somewhat too

high. Personally I feel that it is not very high' it is three times in the United Kingdom and it has not worked badly at three times there. But if it is the feeling of the House that this maximum should be reduced somewhat, I am authorised to say that Government would offer no objection to this amendment if for the word "twice" the words "one and a half time" were substituted.

**Mr. Sami Vencatachelam Chetty**: Does it include the tax or exclude it?

**Mr. S. P. Chambers**: Excluding the tax, as before.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** (Finance Member): Sir, I suggest that if it commends itself to the House, the amendment itself may be amended in some such form:

"That in clause 32 (a) of the Bill, in the proposed sub-section (1), for the word 'twice', wherever it occurs, the words 'one and a half times' be substituted."

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I am glad that the Finance Member has been in a merciful mood, and I hope the Mover of the amendment will accept that, because I think it is reasonable.

**Mr. Sami Vencatachelam Chetty**: Sir, I accept the suggestion.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

"That in clause 32(a) of the Bill, in the proposed sub-section (1), for the word 'twice', wherever it occurs, the words 'one and a half times' be substituted".

The motion was adopted.

.....

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg**: He has got thirty days margin anyhow.

**Mr. S.P. Chambers**: I can only repeat first of all what the Honourable the Finance Member said that thirty days are quite long enough. There is a provision in section 30(2) which says:

> "The Assistant Commissioner may admit an appeal after the expiration of the period if he is satisfied that the appellant had sufficient cause for not presenting it within that period."

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Why not we ourselves do it by law?

**Mr. S.P:. Chambers**: The point is that 30 days are given and if the Assistant Commissioner thinks the assessee has not had long enough times, he can give him more, but why should we then say, let us have two or three days extra before the thirty days begin to operate. Sir, I oppose the amendment.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Sir, I am afraid the Government do not appreciate the point. The point is this: If you say thirty days from the date of the order, when the order is made, the assessee knows nothing about it. It may take a week or two weeks or even three weeks or it may be on the very day, that is the thirtieth day, that the assessee receives the intimation. He does not get sufficient time to make up his mind whether he would appeal or not. Then, with regard to the power of the Assistant Commissioner that the time may be extended, that is a very different proposition altogether. The first is his right, and the other the discretion of the Court. Why should you take away his right of thirty days within which he is entitled to appeal on the mere ground that the order is made, but no communication is made for a fortnight or three weeks? It seems to me really most unreasonable, and I do ask the Government really not to oppose this amendment.

**An Honourable Member**: You have got your Party with you.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Yes, I speak for my Party and not as individual here. I would not be moving this amendment if I had not my Party behind me. The situation was all of a sudden changed. When this clause was first moved, it was pretty clear that the whole House was against the accrual basis and it wanted to vote down clause 4. The speech which the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition made, as well as the speech of the Leader of the Muslim League Party, my friend, Mr. Jinnah, made it perfectly clear.

(Mr. Jinnah rose to interrupt)

I have not yet said what you said. If I mistake not, in the speeches which my friends, the Leader of the Opposition and Mr. Jinnah made, I find that the opposition was not merely to the principle of discrimination which finds place in certain provisos of this clause but also to the principle of the accrual basis itself.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): No. That was what I wanted to say when I was bracketed with the Leader of the Opposition. I never expressed my opinions with regard to the principle of accrual basis. I merely said that I cannot support clause No.4 in the form in which it stands in the Bill.

**An Honourable Member**: Very guarded expression.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I stand corrected. I myself stated: "If I mistake not". Mr. Jinnah is known for his guarded expression in this House and outside.....

. . . . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney**:..... I find, therefore, that purely with a desire to make more money we are ignoring all considerations of

equity and justice.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I think a reference is made to those who were in the Round Table Conference and that they consented to the separation of Burma. It is not quite accurate. The position taken up by some of us – and I speak for myself particularly – was this that the question of the separation of Burma must be determined by the wishes of the people of Burma and if they wanted to separate, we would not be justified in opposing it. In that we consented.

**Mr. M.S. Aney**: To that extent my statement is inaccurate. But the point is this that we did not oppose the separation of Burma. Those of us who were in a position to oppose did not oppose.

. . . .

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**:.....I hope and trust that, even if my Honourable friends differ from me, they will give me credit that I have done my best in most difficult circumstances and come to a decision in the larger interests of the country.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Sir, I think I owe it to the House as well as to the country outside that I should explain the position of my Party. In the first instance, I thank the Leader of the Opposition for having paid me a compliment for what little I may have done in the course of our negotiations. Secondly, he has dealt with the whole question so fully that there is not very much to be said on the merits except on one or two points to which I should like to refer. The first question that he had to consider was this, – and here I refer to my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney. Ever since I arrived to take part in the debate in this House, every now and then it was said that the accrual basis is a question of principle. If you substitute accrual basis for remittance basis, he says it is a question of principle. I may be right, I may be wrong, but I really do not see where is the

principle involved either in the accrual basis or the remittance basis. In a sense, a principle is involved, no doubt as to the method: which is the method we should adopt? But there is no abstract principle involved in one basis or the other.....

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Nor did I ever mean that it ever involved a moral principle or a religious principle to which we must adhere for all time.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: It is really, therefore, a question of method. Then, the question is this. We have tried the remittance basis, and for many years. The question arises, is this basis not one which has given a great deal of loophole for those, who wish to escape paying income-tax? And in what way? I think my Honourable friend must know that there are people who do not pay income-tax anywhere at all. If I was to invest my money in Great Britain, and I say to my bank: "Invest 25 lakhs or 50 lakhs of rupees" – I do not need them, because I am worth a crore or three-quartes of a crore, and 25 lakhs is enough for my business and my requirements in this country, and I do not need the remaining 50 lakhs here – I say to my bank in Great Britain: "Invest 50 lakhs." I do not pay tax there, because I am a non-resident, and I do not pay tax here, because I do not remit.....

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: What about English Income-tax?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: You are not assessed if you are not a resident.

**Mr. Cowasji Jehangir**: You are.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No: excuse me, you are not.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: Ask Mr. Chambers.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Excuse me. You have got to certify that you are a non-resident, and you are treated on a very different footing. You know it better than I do.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: May I tell the Honourable Member that he should try his experiment and invest his 75 lakhs or 50 lakhs that he proposes to do in share in England and see the result.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar** (Law Member): May I put in a word? If my friend will give me the 75 lakhs, I will put them in income tax free securities.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: That is quite another point. Mr. Jinnah was talking of investments. Let him invest in shares. Of course if he invests in the Funding loan that yields 2½ per cent. or 2 3/4 per cent. in sterling, he may not have to pay tax; but if he instructs his banker to invest in the best investments that can be found, he will find that he will be taxed in England.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I certainly bow to the Honourable Baronet, because he is an expert in arranging these matters. But, taking his own statement, it was a clear exposition that there are methods which the Honourable Baronet can adopt by which he can escape tax from both countries. But I do not yet agree with him as to my proposition. There are concessions made if you certify that you are a non-resident in Great Britain. However, I do not wish to go into all these controversial details. My point is a very simple one, that a man, under the present remittance basis, can escape the tax in this country unless he remits. Therefore, the next question arises: a man who considers that this country is worth his while to live in and that it gives him certain benefits and advantages, if he is escaping making a contribution to the revenue, are we not justified in adopting some other method? So far as the accrual basis is concerned, therefore, it is, as I said, a pure question of method.

Now, I come back to the events that took place after the amendment was moved by Mr. B. Das to delete clause 4. When that amendment was moved, the position was this: that the clause, as it stood, with all the advantages which existed either

in the way of modifications or alternations or concessions that were made in the Select Committee or with regard to the offer of the Finance Member about the notifications exempting certain classes from paying income-tax which he said would bring in something like 16 lakhs of rupees, if I am correct – the clause, as it stood, with that offer and with all the advantages which were secured in the Select Committee by the labour of those Honourable Members who served on it and by the Leader of the Opposition – we were face to face with that clause 4 with all the concessions and the advantages which we took into consideration, and in saying as I did in my speech that we were not able to support the amendment, I made it clear that we had considered all the pros and cons and all the advantages that were there up to that moment, and that we would support the amendment. I pointed out also generally some important matters. The Leader of the Opposition has made it very clear in his elaborate speech that the first question was distinction of domicile and non-domicile, and the Bill, as it stood, undoubtedly gave a *de facto* exemption to the non-domicile. That was one of the most important questions which we had to consider. The other question was that it would involve an enormous amount of hardship on a large body of Indian nationals who have been trading abroad all over the world. I do not want now to go into the past and stir up the stormy waters again, but when the Finance Member made the offer that he was willing to meet the Leaders of Parties and come to some settlement with regard to clause 4 and make some modification, I think I was the first to welcome it and I tried my very best, in the most dramatic and tragic atmosphere of the House which was really most electrified to see that this conference did take place. The conference did take place, and I congratulate the Honourable the Finance Member, and I think should equally congratulate my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Opposition, that he also at that moment was not in any way actuated by any other consideration than the best interests of the country. The result

was that we met. We spent hours and we have placed this now before the House. Sir, in a compromise, in a settlement, no party gets sixteen annas in the rupee. I don't say that this compromise or settlement satisfies me completely. I am quite sure, the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition is not satisfied with it completely either; I am equally sure that perhaps the Honourable the Finance Member also feels the same.....

**An Honourable Member**: He has got everything.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: From the point of view of Government.

**Mr. Manu Subedar** (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): What about the *bona fides* of the House?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: It is fully established.

**Mr. Manu Subedar**: Let the Finance Member withdraw what he said about the *bona fides* of the House.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: My friend, Mr. Manu Subedar, does not know that when it is proved that your *bona fides* are established, we don't want anybody to withdraw what was said about *bona fides*.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): It was never in doubt.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: We need go further into that matter.

Now, I am quite sure, even my friend, Mr. Aikman, the Leader of the European Group, is not satisfied with the settlement, – perhaps he is more dissatisfied than any one of us, but there it is. Now, what have we secured? I want my Honourable friends to appreciate that. It is not really a reasonable argument to advance and say that thousands and lakhs of our countrymen, who are trading abroad, will be cruelly treated under this Bill, it will ground them down like a steam

roller. That argument cannot hold water for a moment. Now, let us see what will happen. All the Indian nationals in different parts of the country would not necessarily come under the definition of residents. If they don't come under the definition of residents under this Bill, and if they don't carry on any business here, as a good many don't then they won't come under this Bill at all. But, then, who will come under this Bill? Which Indian national, who is carrying on business abroad, will come within the scope of this Bill? It will be an Indian, who is a resident within the meaning of the definition of residents, – not otherwise. Well, if he is, if he considers that this country is worth his while to live in, and if he comes under the definition of resident, may I know why such a man should not make his contribution to the revenues of the State?

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab: Sikh): Why does not an Englishman do it?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: He does.

**Sardar Sant Singh**: Not fully.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I say, why should he not make his contribution to the revenues of the state if he considers this country worth his while to live in and benefit by all the advantages which this country offers him?

Now, we took care to modify this clause as it stood before, about maintaining a house or having a family, and so on. If he had a house and if he had family here, and if he came here only for even one day, then, under the original Bill as it was, he would become a resident. Now, he would not become a resident unless he lives in this country for full two years in the course of seven years or unless he lives here for six months. Therefore, Sir, really, to all intents and purposes, he is in the same position as any one of us. And why should he not be assessed on his total world income?

Then, Sir, we were not unmindful of the small traders, and I think we have really got a fairly substantial concession of those small favours, as my friend, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, explained in that they are exempt to the extent of Rs.4,500 straightaway, – they are not liable to be assessed on their foreign income. We also secured some concession in regard to double income-tax; where there is no reciprocity, in those countries where the foreign Government imposes a tax, we secured a clear advantage for them, – they will get a refund as if the foreign country, where there is no reciprocity, had a dominion status.

Then, we solved the difficulties about sending money out from a particular country where there is prohibition or restriction.

Then, we had to consider two more questions. One was the loss in exchange, and the other was the question of books, sending of returns, so on and so forth, which are matters of detail. We were not unmindful of all that. We tried to see whether we could bring all that on the statute-book, and we felt that it was not possible to embody all those things in Statutory provisions, but the Finance Member, I believe, partly gave certain assurances when these clauses were discussed, and I have no doubt in my mind that, – after all he will not be interested so much, nor the Government nor the administration or the machinery of the Income-tax Department in unnecessarily harassing those people.

[At this stage Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) resumed the Chair.]

After all, what do the Government hope to get out of these small traders? Very little. What we want to rope in are the millionaires, be they Indians or Europeans or of any other nationality, and if you don't rope them in, if you don't enable the Finance Member, – not that I have any sympathy for him, — the Government exists as it is, the Finance Member exists as he is, –

if you don't enable the Finance Member to get a substantial revenue which he expects to get by means of this Bill, what will happen? Supposing you don't enable him to secure this revenue, what will happen? Believe me, you will have to pay this money. If there is a deficit, if money is required, who will pay? We shall have to pay. Whether the melon falls on the knife or the knife falls on the melon, it is the melon which is cut. Do I want to take the risk that this poor melon should be cut in that part which it can bear the least touch of knife?

**An Honourable Member of the European Group**: It is melancholy.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I know your position is very melancholy, and I sympathise with you fully.

Now, what have we done with regard to our European friends? Under the Bill, as it was presented to us, the position was this. Very ingenious and clever drafting it was. There were two classes of Europeans, and they were both outside the scope of this Bill as it was drafted originally. One class are the service, official or non-official. They could never have come within the scope of this Bill unless they carried on business, profession or vocation, and the services in this country do not carry on business as a rule – there may be some exceptions. Nor do they carry on any profession or vocation. Therefore, the whole of this service was *de facto* exempt. We have now roped them in to this extent that if any of them resides here for nine out of ten years, then this Bill will begin to operate on them.

Now, I come to the millionaire friends of the companies and there are a very large number of them and I shall certainly be looking forward to see how many crores the Finance Member gets out of them. Now, these companies were given *de facto* exemption in a very ingenious way. If the control was aboard, then they were exempt, although they make their money here. Now, that has gone. Now, it does not matter where your control

is. If your profits in India exceed more than 50 per cent., if it is, 51, then you are liable to tax. Once that position is reached, these companies will have to disclose their whole volume of business and income, and they will be assessed on that. As Mr. Desai rightly pointed out, we have done away with the question of domicile and non-domicile. It is a question of resident and non-resident. We have gained on principle, and besides we have gained in roping in under this agreement, if it goes through, those who are best able to pay the burden of taxation. We have given the utmost possible relief to those Indian nationals of ours who are small traders and after all remember that they are not at all residents within the meaning of this definition unless they choose to come in. This agreement is a compromise. We cannot get all we want under a compromise. In conclusion, I will only say this, that my Honourable friend, Mr. Desai, and myself were only actuated by one consideration and one consideration only, and it was this, that having regard to the constitution of the Government that we have to face, having regard to the powers of this House, and having regard to all the conditions, don't forget that, we thought that this opportunity should not be allowed to slip away from our hands and that we were making a fairly good bargain, and I hope that the House will support us and the country outside will approve of our action.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya** (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, it is very difficult to carry conviction after two finished speakers have so wonderfully pleaded their cause in their own defence.....

. . . .

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: I have no hope; but that is the authoritative opinion now, I understand, of the legal fraternity in this House.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): You cannot escape!

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: Nor can you. I want to know who can.....

*Legislative Assembly Debates, 1938, Vol.III pp. 2585, 2724, 2753-57, Vol. VII pp.3422-23, 3522-28, Vol. VIII pp. 3835, 4056, 4128, 4131, 4149-54, 4237.*

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### Presidential Address at the Special Session of the All India Muslim League, Calcutta, April 17, 1938.

"After the last Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League which took place on October 15, 1937, I should like to place before you a brief summary of the work done and the various events that have occurred since. You know that at the last session the Constitution and the Rules of the All-India Muslim League were overhauled, and some very important changes were embodied in them. The new Constitution has now come into operation and according to the resolution of the All-India Muslim League, committees have been appointed in various provinces to organize Provincial and District Leagues all over India; and I am glad to tell you that in every province District Leagues have been established, and during the last six months, they have enrolled members not by hundreds, not by thousands, but by lakhs.

**Political Awakening**

During my tours in different parts of India I found a tremendous political awakening and enthusiasm among the Mussalmans, and there is almost an insatiable desire amongst the people to come under the banner of the All-India Muslim League. This enormous mass of support that is rallying around

the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League requires to be harnessed, mobilized, co-ordinated and controlled. Then alone, with proper guidance, shall we achieve the goal for which we are fighting.

We have to a certain extent freed our people from the most undesirable reactionary elements. We have in no small degree removed the unwholesome influence and fear of a certain section who used to pass off as Maulanas and Moulvis. We have made efforts to take our women with us in our struggle and in many places that I visited they took enormous interest and participated in various functions and gatherings.

We have to carry on and maintain the policy and the programme of the Muslim League on a political plane. Within less than six months we have succeeded in organizing Mussalmans all over India as they never were at any time during the last century and a half. They have been galvanized and awakened in a manner which has astounded and staggered our opponents. Mussalmans have shaken off their torpor and shed the miserable state of despair and demoralization into which they were sunk so deep. They are beginning to realize that they are a power. They possess the strength, the potentialities of which they have not yet realized; and if only they will take their affairs in their own hands and stand together united, there is no power that can resist their will.

**Shahidganj Day**

The Council of the All-India Muslim League had decided to observe the 18th of February as the Shahidganj Day. Meetings were held all over the country, and the reports that have been received in the office show that the League's word reached the far-off corners of the country. In practically every city and town, and even in some villages, the resolution of the League was carried out.

I am fully conscious that to-day the Shahidganj question is uppermost in the mind of every Mussalman throughout India, there can be no doubt that the feeling and sentiment amongst them is genuine and sincere, and there can be no question that the demolition of the mosque has deeply wounded their religious susceptibilities. The average man feels that his mosque was ruthlessly and wantonly destroyed. It is to be regretted that a great community like the Sikhs should have been carried away and have resorted to the ruthless action of domolishing the mosque in the manner in which they did.

At the same time, I realize that certain individuals on both sides were and have been aggressive to each other, and that they created a situation which has involved the two great communities into the position of an impasse. I deplore the excesses committed on both sides, and deeply regret the loss of lives of innocent members of both the communities, and deprecate the resort to methods which resulted in destroying innocent lives. The question viewed in its true perspective is very easy of solution, if only both the communities will realize their moral obligation to each other, and put down certain mischievous and aggressive elements that make the task more difficult for an honourable settlement.

I appeal to the leaders of the Sikh community to rise above the question of prestige or amour propre, and I advise the Mussalmans, while recognizing their deep feelings and sharing their religious susceptibilities, which I have no doubt are genuinely and deeply wounded, to realize that the way to a settlement is not reached by dictation from one community to the other.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League has already passed a resolution to which I would draw the attention of the delegates present here. It runs as follows :

"In view of the decision of the Punjab Premier,

expressing his readiness to resign, even if the majority of the Muslim Members give their verdict disapproving action foreshadowed in his recent pronouncement with regard to the Shahidganj question, the Council realize that the main burden and responsibility rests with the Muslim representatives of the Punjab Legislature and the public generally. The Council appreciate that the gravity and the nature of the issues involved are present to the mind of Sir Sikandar Hayat and his Government. The assurance given by him, in his pronouncement, of his making an earnest attempt to bring about an honourable settlement of the question is the best course in the opinion of the Council; and in this direction lies the way of restoring and securing a permanent peace and goodwill between the two great sister communities, Muslims and Sikhs, whose moral responsibility to each other, whose interest and welfare, and the larger interest of the Province and the country, demand that, with their great history, religion and traditions behind them, they should rise above the verdicts of judicial tribunals and the decisions of legislatures and Government, and rise to the occasion and come to an honourable settlement of their own; that failing such a desideratum of mutual agreement of the parties concerned, which will be most unfortunate, the Council note, with great satisfaction, the determination of the Punjab Government that it will not fail to explore and exhaust all constitutional avenues open to them to find a satisfactory and just solution of the problem, to which, Council are glad, they are already applying themselves; and that, while the final decisions as to the policy and the line of action can only be decided by All-India Muslim League, the Council, in the meantime, are willing and ready to render all the assistance and help they can towards the solution of the matter."

It is now for you, ladies and gentlemen, to give your most anxious consideration to this question of Shahidganj and determine upon the policy and line of action that may seem

proper to you.

**The League And Provincial Legislatures**

There are Muslim League Parties functioning inside seven out of the eleven Provincial Legislatures. The large majority of Muslim Members in all these seven Provincial Assemblies belong to the Muslim League Parties, and the membership of those Parties is increasing every day. The Muslim League contested, with great success, a number of bye-elections to the Legislative Assemblies in various Provinces. The Council of the League appointed a committee to chalk out an economic, social and educational programme for the Mussalmans. The report of the committees is being awaited with great interest.

We greatly deplore the communal riots that have taken place in the United Provinces and other Provinces. It is being publicly stated by the Congress Ministers in these provinces that the responsibility for these riots rests on the shoulders of the Muslim League. It is most deplorable that a Minister of the Government should make such loose and untrue statements. These allegations against the Muslim League are absolutely without any foundation, and are being used as a blind against the incapacity of the Congress Government in those provinces to protect the lives and property of the people of the province. All sorts of malicious propaganda is being carried out to discredit the Muslim League. But, God willing, the Muslim League, in spite of all this, will go on getting stronger every day.

A few months ago the Muslim community was like no man's land but to-day it has come into its own and there is no power on earth that can now keep it dormant or inactive. The Mussalmans have realized that their salvation lies in organizing themselves under the banner of the Muslim League; and once they are organized, they need fear no one.

Numerous representations and complaints have reached the Central Office of the hardship, ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to Mussalmans in the various Congress Provinces, and particularly to those who were workers and members of the All-India Muslim League. Therefore, the Council were obliged to appoint a special committee, under the chairmanship of Raja Mohammad Mehdi Saheb, to take such steps as may be considered proper, and to submit their report to the Council and the President.

The Council also decided to authorize me, as the President, to take all necessary steps to form a Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature, with power to the party so formed to coalesce with any other party or group whose policy and programme is approximately the same as that of the All-India Muslim League. In pursuance of that resolution, I am glad to inform you that a Muslim League party in the Central Legislature, in both the Houses, has been formed and will function in the Legislature, under the supervision and control of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, from the next session of the Central Legislature.

**The Hindu-Muslim Question**

Although some of the pronouncements of the President and other leaders of the Congress at Haripura created an impression of a really genuine desire for the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question – and in pursuance of that, Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have written to me, and I have replied to their letters, and the correspondence is going on – yet there is no slackening on the part of the Congress in the determination of their set purpose to annihilate every other party, and particularly the All-India Muslim League.

The Congress attitude, so far as it can be summed up, is first that the Communal Award must go lock, stock and barrel; secondly, that there must be no separate electorates; and thirdly,

that there must be no differential franchise, and if possible, there should be no reservation of seats for any community.

The result of this will be obvious: Mussalmans will be wiped out from securing any adequate representation either in the legislatures or in the municipal, local and district boards – as did happen in Bihar recently, since the Government have even removed the cummulative voting which existed before they assumed office.

The Congress resolutions about fundamental rights and declarations with regard to religion, culture and language are nothing but paper resolutions. There is not the slightest doubt that the most aggressive attitude was taken up by the Congress Government on the threshold of their assuming office. They endeavoured to impose the Bande Matram song in the legislatures, and it is only after much bitterness and opposition that it has been dropped. They are pursuing a policy of making Hindi a compulsory language, which must necessarily, if not completely, destroy – at any rate, vitally undermine the spread of the development of Urdu; and what is worse still, is that Hindi with its Hindu Sanskritic literature and philosophy and ideals will and must necessarily be forced upon Muslim children and students.

In various parts of India, serious difficulties are put in the way of Muslims enjoying the liberty of observing their religious rites freely. It is one thing to make every high-sounding declaration, such as the Congress are in the habit of making, and its Working Committee of repeating them; it is quite another thing to translate them into action – and so far, the Congress are preaching one thing, and practising just the contrary.

The President of the Congress, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, having quoted these paper resolutions about the so-called protection of religion, culture and language, proceeded to state:

"The time is opportune for renewing our efforts for the final solution of the problem. I believe I am voicing the feelings of all Congressmen when I say that we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism."

Here I wish he was speaking on behalf of all the Congressmen as he believed he was! It is no use masquerading under the name of nationalism. The Congress is a Hindu body mainly. It is begging the whole question to say that 'we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution' and qualify it by saying 'consistently with the fundamental principles of nationalism' as if the Muslim League were opposed to the fundamental principles of nationalism. Muslims have made it clear more than once that, besides the question of religion, culture, language and personal laws, there is another question, equally of life and death for them, and that their future destiny and fate are dependent upon their securing definitely their political rights, their due share in the national life, the Government, and the administration of the country.

They will fight for it till the last ditch, and all the dreams and notions of Hindu Raj must be abandoned. They will not be submerged or dominated, and they will not surrender so long as there is life in them.

**Equality with the Congress**

The Muslim League claims the status of complete equality with the Congress, or any other organization, and we have our problems to solve. We have, under the present conditions, to organize our people, to build up the Muslim masses for a better world and for their immediate uplift, social and economic, and we have to formulate plans of a constructive and ameliorative character, which would give them immediate relief from the poverty and wretchedness from which they are

suffering more than any other section of the people in India.

I welcome a policy of live and let live. I welcome an understanding in matters economic and political. But we cannot surrender, submerge or submit to the dictates or the ukase of the High Command of the Congress, which is developing into a totalitarian and authoritative causes, functioning under the name of the Working Committee, and aspiring to the position of a shadow cabinet in a future republic.

The Muslim League is not only carrying on a struggle for the Muslims; it maintains that all other important minorities must have the same sense of security and a place in the sun of India, where they will enjoy their rights and privileges as free citizens, and not be ground down by caste-tyranny and caste-rule.

In my opinion, the Congress is making one of the greatest blunders by pursuing its present policy. The High Command of the Congress has no policy except opportunism and arrogance. They are utilizing their organization, because it happens to be the largest and most powerful, to treat every other party with contempt, and they imagine that they have already become the rulers of India. It is astounding that they believe that they have conquered six provinces absolutely, and in the seventh they have a dominant voice, as the majority in the coalition of the North-West Frontier Province are Congressmen. They talk of drums beating, and they believe that it will not be very long before the remaining four Provinces fall before the conquering heroes of the High Command of the Congress.

But to the Mussalmans, I say that they must realize that there cannot be any honourable settlement between two parties when one claims to be superior to the other, and has for its aim and object the domination and dictation of the other. Honourable settlement can only be achieved between equals,

and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other, there is no solid ground for any settlement.

Besides even if a settlement does come, unless the Mussalmans are fully organized and have forged sanctions behind them, as well as the solid and united backing behind them, the agreements, pacts or treaties can only be treated as a scrap of paper – i.e., unless they can be enforced by a power from behind, which will see that the terms are carried out and maintained.

Therefore, my appeal to the Mussalmans is: Don't depend upon anybody. You must depend upon your own inherent strength. The Mussalmans have not yet realized what power and strength they would possess if they were properly mobilized as one solid people. We have to go through a great deal of spade work and suffering. Our opponents will use all possible means of suppression. They may practice tyranny and may persecute us; but I am confident that we shall emerge out of that ordeal better, stronger than we have ever been.

*"All India Muslim League, Calcutta Special Session, April 1938, Presidential Address by Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah", Printed and Published by S. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, A.I.M.L., at Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1945, pp. 1-23. & Indian Annual Register, 1938, Vol: I, pp. 377-387.*

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## 208

**Speech at a meeting, Calcutta, April 17, 1938.**

In an address Mr. Jinnah refused to recognize Congress

as anything but a Hindu body which showed no slackening of its determination to destroy all other parties. The Muslim League, he said, was rapidly growing in strength for it was carrying on the struggle not only for Muslims but for all important minorities against caste tyranny and rule. They would welcome a policy of 'live and let live,' but Muslims were unable to surrender to the ukases of the Congress High Command which was developing into a totalitarian and authoritarian caucus.

*The Tribune, April 18, 1938*

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## 209

### Statement at the meeting of the League's Central Parliamentary Board, Calcutta, April 19, 1938.

*A meeting of the All India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was held here this morning. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided, and there were present at the meeting about 35 members representing all provinces.*

*The discussions, which continued for about three hours, centred on the question of the formation of League parties in the Provincial Legislatures where they did not exist at present.*

Mr. Jinnah said that the decision of the Board would be announced after he had had an opportunity of consulting the leaders of the various Muslim groups in the Bengal Assembly. (A.P.)

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# 210

## Speech at a public meeting to mourn the death of Allama Iqbal, Calcutta, April 21, 1938

Mr. M. A. Jinnah said that the sorrowful news of the death of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal had plunged the world of Islam in gloom and mourning. Sir Iqbal was undoubtedly one of the greatest poets, philosophers and seers of humanity of all times. He took a prominent part in the politics of the country and in the intellectual and cultural reconstruction of the Islamic world. His contribution to the literature and thought of the world will live for ever.

"To me he was a personal friend, philosopher and guide and as such the main source of my inspiration and spiritual support. While he was ailing in his bed it was he who as the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, stood single-handed as a rock in the darkest days in the Punjab by the side of the League banner, undaunted by the opposition of the whole world. When on account of his serious illness he was confined to bed, he resigned the post of the Presidentship of the Punjab League but was instead elected its Patron. He still continued to guide the work of the Punjab League from his bed and had somebody to reply to all letters concerning the League. It would have been a matter of great satisfaction for him to hear the news with great delight that the Bengal and Punjab Muslims were absolutely united on the common platform of the All India Muslim League. In that achievement the unseen contribution of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal was the greatest. No greater blow has struck the Muslims at this juncture".

*The Star of India, April 22, 1938.*

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## 211

### Message of condolence on the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Calcutta, April 21, 1938

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued the following condolence message on the death of Allama Iqbal:

"I am extremely sorry to hear the sad news of the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He was a remarkable poet of world wide fame and his work will live for ever. His services to his country and the Muslims are so numerous that his record can be compared with that of the greatest Indian that ever lived. He was an ex-President of the All India Muslim League and a President of the Provincial Muslim League of the Punjab till very recent time when his unforeseen illness compelled him to resign. But he was the staunchest and the most loyal champion of the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League.

"To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment and as a result just only three days ago he must have read of or been informed of the complete unity that was achieved in Calcutta of the Muslim leaders of the Punjab and today I can say with pride that the Muslims of the Punjab are wholeheartedly with the League and have come under the flag of the All India Muslim League, which must have been a matter of greatest satisfaction to him. In the achievement of this unity Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a most signal part. My sincerest and deepest sympathy go out to his family at this moment in their bereavement in losing him, and it is a terrible loss to India and the Muslims particularly at this juncture."

*Star of India, April 22, 1938.*

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## 212

### Inetrview to the Associated Press, Bombay, April 22, 1938

Approached by the Associated Press for an impression of his visit to Bengal this time, Mr. Jinnah said: "I am glad that the Muslim League is forging ahead and from all reports and from what I have seen it seems that its influence has penetrated every corner of Bengal. I can venture to say that any intrigue or effort to break the Muslim League or the Huq Ministry will only break our opponents. My appeal to the Mussalmans of Bengal is that they should join the League and rally round the platform and the flag of the All-India Muslim League. I know that we shall succeed. (A.P.).

*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 24, 1938.*

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## 213

### Statement repudiating the statement of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Bombay, May 3, 1938.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has issued the following statement: "My attention has been drawn to the statement issued by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the Press. I am sorry that he should have thought it proper at this juncture to do so and further I must say that it is incorrect and misleading about the version he has given regarding my talk with him when he came to see me in Bombay.

"I am obliged to repudiate what is attributed to me in that statement. I never expressed any wish to see Mr. Gandhi or carry on correspondence with him. It is equally without any

foundation that I wrote in February last to Mr. Gandhi that I could go to Wardha on March 10, but that the meeting was postponed owing to my sickness. I cannot say more as I depreciate on principle disclosure of private talks and hence I shall stop here." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, May 4, 1938.*

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## 214

### Speech at a public meeting, Mahim (Bombay), May 8, 1938

"Like a poor man who has come by a lot of money in a lottery, the Congress is intoxicated with power," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India-Muslim League.

Because of the Congress majority in the various provinces, he continued, they were forcing upon the Muslims things like the singing of the *Bannde Mataram*. Without unity the Muslims could not do anything to make known to the Government their disapproval of such things. Mr. Jinnah referred to treaties entered into by nations in Europe and their complete disregard by some nations and said that he was not in favour of pacts between Hindus and Muslims to be treated in the same fashion. He appealed to Muslims to muster under the auspices of the Muslim League and stand up as one solid unit in order to exercise their right to live in the country as a distinct entity. The Mussalmans in India were never behind the others in their readiness to fight for the freedom of their motherland but freedom should not be the monopoly of a few, like the whites in America to the exclusion of the Red Indians and Negroes. The negotiations for unity between the two communities, he hoped, would fructify so that country as a whole might be benefited. Peace could only be possible among equals.

Turning to critics who referred to him as a pleasure-loving man and a communalist, Mr. Jinnah said "that the very critics would have no compunction in electing him the President of the Indian National Congress if he joined that organisation." Mr. Jinnah deplored the absence of sufficient organisation among Muslims which had resulted in the community having very few educational institutions, hospitals and other amenities. He appealed to Mussalmans to join the League and work for the advancement of their community in the educational, economic, social and other spheres. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, May 10, 1938.*

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## 215

### Statement regarding appointment of the Executive Council of the Muslim League, Bombay, May 16, 1938.

"In accordance with the rules and regulations of the All India Muslim League, I have appointed the Executive Council of the League consisting of the following:

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Abdul Rehman Siddiki, Raja of Mahmudabad, Nawab Ismail Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. Khaliquzzaman, Syed Abdul Aziz, Mr. Muhammad Ashique, Sir Ali Muhammad Khan Dehlavi, Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Syed Abdul Rauf Shah, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Sir Abdoola Haroon, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Khan Sadullah Khan, MLA., Mr. Aurangzib Khan, MLA, Sir Syed Saadullah, Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Malik Barkat Ali and Haji Abdul Sathar Essak Sait.' (A.P.)

*The Statesman, May 18, 1938.*

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## 216

### Statement regarding expansion of the Muslim League Council, Bombay, May 24, 1938.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, informs the Associated Press that he has received various suggestions to increase the number of members of the Executive Council of the League which has already been appointed. Mr. Jinnah says:

"It is not possible for me to add to the number as I have no power to do so under the rules which specify the number as 21. It has also been suggested that I should change the date of the meeting of the Council fixed for June 4. But it is impossible to do so and I expect every member who has received the notice to be present at the meeting." Mr. Jinnah adds: 'Although i would like to avail myself of the help of many other prominent leaders I cannot appoint them as members of the Executive Council. If they come to Bombay to help us, I should be very glad. The Executive Council is not a permanent one. It can only continue till the next annual session of the All India Muslim League." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, May 25,1938.*

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## 217

### Speech at a public meeting, Bombay, June 4, 1938

"Muslims were ready for communal unity but that unity could only be between two equal parties. Unity arrived at between a strong and a weak party would only mean the surrender of the latter to the former,' declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the course of his address at a huge Muslim meeting. He

announced that he had already sent a reply to the Congress memorandum to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and promised to issue a statement regarding the negotiations at an early date. Continuing, Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to organise themselves so that they might gain strength. If they did not organise themselves, other provinces where Muslim Ministries were functioning would share the same fate as Sind and the N.W.F.P. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, June 6, 1938*

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## 218

### Speech in reply to the address presented by the Memon Chamber of Commerce and the Memon Merchant's Association, Bombay, June 5, 1938

The assertion that the Congress was never a national organisation and that it was a rank communal organisation in the garb of a national organisation was made by Mr. Jinnah in the course of his speech.

Mr. Jinnah challenged the right of the Congress, which claimed to be a national organisation, to make Hindi a compulsory language in Municipal and Government Schools and said that there must be some ulterior motive behind this, namely, to make young Muslim girls and boys imbibe Hindu culture. He also took exception to the singing of *Bande Mataram* in schools under compulsion. While asking the public not to reply on "garbled versions, half truths and speculations," he said: "Believe me, I will do my utmost to influence the Muslims in the direction of an honourable settlement but such a settlement must be one between two equals. Muslims can never agree to a mere change in the form of slavery." Mr. Jinnah assured the

audience that he was most anxious for a settlement. He said he was a anxious for the freedom of India as anyone else and strongly criticised the Congress Muslim mass contact activities. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, June 6, 1938*

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## 219

### Speech at the flag hoisting ceremony, Bombay, June 6, 1938

*The Muslim League flag hoisting ceremony was held this morning when Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, hoisted the League flag.*

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, unfurling the League flag, observed that it was not a new flag. It was several centuries old and was given to them by the Prophet. The disorgnisation among the Muslims made them forget their own flag. But a new awakening among the Muslims had come about which had kept the flag afloat. He declared that no power on earth could bring their flag down. The League was there to demonstrate to the world that Mussalmans were united.(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, June 7, 1938.*

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## 220

### Statement regarding appointment of the Organising Committee for the province of Assam, Bombay, June 14, 1938.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim

League, has issued the following statement:

"In accordance with the resolution of the All India Muslim League empowering me to appoint organising committees in various provinces for the purpose of establishing Provincial, District Leagues and branches all over India, I hereby appoint the following gentlemen as constituting the organising Committee for the province of Assam: Sir Syed Muhammad Sadullah, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, M.L.A., Khan Bahadur Syed-ur-Rehman, M.L.A., Maulvi Abdus Samad, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulana Zainul Abedin Bhuyan, Mr. Maqbul Hossain Chaudhury, M.L.A., Mr. Mumtaz Ahmad, Mr. Muhammad Abdullah and Mr. Ashraf-ud-Din Choudhury, M.L.A.

"Under the terms of the League resolution, I am authorised to nominate from amongst the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League only. The organising committee will have power to co-opt from outside the Council. I appoint Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, M.L.A., as Convener of the Committee." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, June 15, 1938*

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## 221

### Speech at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League, Delhi, July 30, 1938.

What may be regarded as an indication of what the Muslim league's final attitude to the negotiations for a communal settlement is going to be was furnished in a speech by Mr. Jinnah at a very largely attended meeting held under the auspices of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah accused the Congress High Command of being intoxicated with power. He added that though it was not yet Hindu Raj but British Raj, the Congress was puffed up with what little power it had acquired. If the same degree of Congress intoxication continued, there would be no freedom for the country. The Congress had its own vocabulary, and when it talked of nationalism, what it really meant was Hinduism. But the difficulty was that what the Congress wanted to conceal, the Hindu Mahasabha revealed.

Proceeding, Mr.Jinnah said that the Congress wanted to crush the Muslim League on the ground that the latter was a communal organisation, but that was not, he asserted, a true statement of fact. The fact was that the Muslim League was not a communal organisation but a nationalist body, while the Congress itself was a communal organisation. They did not want to arouse the antagonism or enmity of any individual or any organisation. What they wanted was to live honourably and to do that they would, he declared, fight to the bitterest end with anybody who stood in their way. The Muslim League was not prepared under any circumstances to play a second fiddle to any other organisation, nor would it voluntarily relegate itself to a position of subordination. It could deal with other organisations on terms of absolute equality alone.

Referring to the Congress League negotiations for a communal settlement, Mr. Jinnah said the correspondence between Messrs Gandhi and Nehru on one hand and himself on the other had already been published. The latest development in the situation was that he had received on July 27 a letter from the Congress President on the subject of communal negotiations. He had placed the letter before the Working Committee of the League and hoped that a reply to it would be sent in a day or two. He regretted that he was not yet in a position to disclose publicly at what stage the matter rested. As soon as it was constitutionally possible for him to release the correspondence

between the Congress President and himself, he would do so. Settlement or no settlement between the League and the Congress, it was quite obvious that there could be no compromise between the weak and the strong. Even if some settlement were arrived at between these two bodies, the League in its present position of relative weakness would not be able to make the Congress abide by the terms of the pact. The agreement would, therefore, be nothing more than a scrap of paper.

He exhorted the audience not to be misled by the false propaganda carried on by the Congress that the main issue before them was economic which was a mere stunt and appealed to Muslims to join the League in ever-increasing numbers in order to strengthen their position through the League. He also advised them to avoid splits in their ranks. Mr. Jinnah delivered his speech in Urdu ad spoke for over half an hour. (A.P.I.)

*The Tribune, July 31, 1938.*

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## 222

### Speech in reply to the address presented by the Muslims of Simla, Simla, August 7, 1938.

An appeal for unity among Muslims "with a view to serving the community and the country' was made by Mr. M. A.. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, replying to an address of welcome presented to him by Muhammadans of Simla. He exhorted Muslims to make up leeway for improving their economic and financial conditions which had been neglected in the past by the community.

Mr. Jinnah said: "I thank you for the great reception you accorded me at the station this morning and for the way you

have praised my work here tonight. It encourages me to go on with the policy and programme which the Muslim League is persuing at present. This demonstration is a signal mark of the approval of that policy by Muslims. There is only one meaning for this meeting, namely, that you have conferred this signal honour on me because I happen to represent your feelings and opinions, and at the present moment you are doing this because I am the President of All India Muslim League. I thank you for all the support you have given me through this morning's reception and this meeting."

**Service to Country**

Giving his message to Muhammadans, Mr. Jinnah said: "Our first duty is that we should bring about complete solidarity and unity among ourselves. We ought to understand clearly that it was due to our neglect and indifference to ourselves in the past that we were left behind ourselves today not only weak numerically but also the most backward community economically, financially and educationally. If you desire to play your legitimate part you have to make up leeway and acquire those requisite qualifications and develop in the direction. The more you do so, the more you will serve the community and the country and play an honourable part in the struggle for freedom of our country. I appeal to every Muslim to put an end to all differences among themselves and speak with one voice. We want to make our people self-reliant and worthy of our precious heritage. Our motives are sincere. Our cause is just and honourable, and we are determined to play an honourable part in the service of our country. I feel confident that we are bound to succeed." (A.P.)

*The Statesman August 9, 1938.*

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## 223

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the motion regarding "Increase in the Indian Defence Charges" Simla, August 9, 1938.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The next motion is in the name of Mr. Satyamuri, No.16, about the increase in the Indian Defence charges. Does he wish to move it?

**Mr. S Satyamurti**: I very sincerely want to move it.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Is there any objection?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** (Finance Member): We have no objection.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I beg to move :

"That the House do now adjourn."

The facts of this case are fairly simple but before I state them I really want to tell the House that it is impossible to speak on a motion of this kind with the restraint which ought to characterise all speeches in this Honourable House. One of the festering sores in the relations between England and India has been the enormous cost of the British Army in India which we calculate at about fifty crores a year, and of which between twelve and twenty-five crores is debatable to the British part of this army of occupation. Public opinion in this country has been consistently demanding that this expenditure should be cut down and the demand of the Indian National Congress has been that it should be cut down by onehalf. While the whole country was hoping and expecting that Britain in her anxiety to make herself strong against the other nations of the world would cut down the defence expenditure in India, we find that an attempt

is being made to saddle India with further additional defence expenditure, the cost of which I am afraid even the Government of India do not know exactly today. Sir, this matter began as early as the 10th of March, 1938, when Mr. Hore-Belisha, the Parliamentary Secretary of State for War, in his speech on the Army Estimates, made out a case for various concessions against which the Government of India at that time I believe protested, but in spite of that protest those concessions have now come into force.....

. . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, the motion before the House is intended to ensure the Government of India regarding the defence charges as a result of the recent proposals of the British War Minister. Now, having heard the quotation from the *Hindustan Standard* which was read out by my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, instead of our censuring the Government so far as the Finance Member is concerned, it appears that he has been a doughty champion of our cause. It may be that the Government of India are resisting this and, therefore, we may not be able strictly, as I have said on another occasion, to carry the adjournment motion which means a censure on the Government of India, when some one else is responsible for it, but if we cannot hold the Government of India responsible, we must get hold of the culprit who is responsible and the culprit in this case seems to be the Secretary of State for India who is responsible to us as the Secretary of State for India. I, therefore, wholeheartedly support this motion in that sense and I hope that my European friends will reconsider their position and go into the lobby with us. This is an occasion when I appeal to them that they should not fail us. The position is this. It is a most painful situation and it is a vicious circle. I would like to know whether the Government of India knew about this before the decisions were taken by His Majesty's Government. I would like to know if they were informed beforehand or

consulted. I see there is silence on the part of the Government and so far as this House is concerned, we are not in a very enviable position. We can only influence the Government. We do not enjoy responsible Government. Were we given any inkling beforehand about this ukase, this *firman* issued from the great Secretary of State for war, which was sanctioned by the Cabinet and passed by Parliament, that India should be burdened in a most arbitrary manner, even according to the figures which the Honourable Member gave us, roughly two crores. I think there is great force in Mr. Asaf Ali's argument that in the course of 20 years this will mount up to 600 thousand pounds as stated by the War Minister. Therefore, when that amount of 360 thousand pounds will increase, will it not automatically increase in proportion so far as the British officers are concerned and the British troops in India are concerned? Will it not follow? It seems that if that be so the burden will be much more than two crores.

**Mr. C.M.G. Ogilvie**: It does not, because the reason is that British troops are stationed here for a comparatively short time, five years or so, and then they go home. I do not think that we anticipated there will be any rise in the figures I have given.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I really cannot follow. As the British troops go after five years, are they not replaced?

**Mr. C.M.G. Ogilvie**: Yes, but they are British troops of approximately the same age and seniority, and so on.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am not talking only of officers. Anyhow it is not a matter of importance to me for my present purpose. It may be three crores or it may be four crores but what we are concerned with is this. This is an arbitrary imposition upon the defence budget of our country which we cannot possibly bear and this House has further expressed its opinion over and over again that we at least want to bring this expenditure down to 45 crores. Even this we consider too much of a burden on this country, having regard to our finances and now we are saddled with this additional expenditure. One

reason is, as the Secretary of State for War said:

> "Would he not, having fixed his garrisons so that each one of them, where its communications could be interrupted, should be maintained in peace at a strength adequate to discharge its defensive duties at the outbreak of war, aim at holding strategic reserve in a zone whence it could be directed most rapidly to those alternative places where security is most likely to be threatened".

Sir, India in the Imperial defence is a strategic zone: and it is quite obvious, Sir, that, without India, I think we might say that the British Empire may be wound up. Now, therefore, it is admitted that the British troops and British officers are here, not for the internal security of India but for the Imperial defence, and if you wish really to increase the pay or allowances of the British soldiers or British officers, and it is all for Imperial defence, well, then, let England pay for it. Why do you want to burden India with it? What justification is there? So far as we are concerned in India, we have urged over and over again, that we do not want any British soldiers, we do not want any British officers, we say, "Indianize the army and replace the British army". We do not want to indulge in this luxury. If we cannot get British officers, well, we have plenty of material in the country to serve us on our terms. Therefore, it seems to me that it is not only a question, as the Honourable the Army Secretary said, that the financial adjustment has to be made: in my judgement, the whole question of Indian defence requires examination, and I hope that at least the Government of India will realize, that it is not only a question of financial adjustment but I say, it is great deal more and the sooner you do it the better. It is the re-organization and the re-constitution and the Indianization of the army that is required also, and whenever we press this point and whenever we bring anything to Government's notice, the Government say, "Oh, well, this cannot be done, that cannot be

done". Have we not been urging over and over again that a committee of Members of this House should be appointed for the purpose of considering what are our requirements of defence, what we should do, how much we should spend? Never is any attention paid to that, since Skeen Committee 1926, and we are told, "how can you have people who do not understand the technique of the army to deal with this matter? We want experts, we want specialists, what is the use of having a committee of Members of this House?" Well if the Members of this House are in a position to give their verdict on those vital issues with regard to the re-constitution, the reorganization, the financial adjustment and so on and so forth, surely there are some men on this side who have got sufficient intelligence – with the help, if necessary, of experts and specialists – to decide as to what should be the attitude and our policy and programme that we should take up with regard to the financial adjustment, what should be our position with regard to the re-organization, the reconstitution and the Indianization of the army. Well, if the Englishman wants to have a pound to serve and if I can get my own countryman who is as good to serve for ten shillings, why should I not have him, – and for materials there are three hundred and fifty million in this country. I say the British Government and the Government of India have utterly failed in really effectively safeguarding the interest of India and advancing the progress of India up to the present moment so far as defence policy is concerned. Sir, I do not want to take up the time of the House. It is very difficult even to deal adequately within 15 minutes of time-limit with various matters but there is one point so graciously conceded to us in the words of the Honourable the Defence Secretary, Mr. Ogilvie. He says: "We are not prevented from making representations". He said: "It is not that we are not allowed to make representations to His Majesty's Government". I congratulate the Government of India and I congratulate this House that the Government of India is allowed to make and have already made representations. With

what result? Here is a newspaper report – I do not know whether it is correct but it is a paper that is generally correct – as a rule, it is very careful, although it sometimes criticizes me very badly, it is the *Times of India* and this is what they say:

> "These discussions have been proceeding throughout the summer, and the Secretary of State for India has had Sir Ivo Vesey, Chief of the General Staff, Sir Joubert de la Ferte, Air Officer Commanding in India, and Mr. Rowlands, Financial Adviser, to assist in the presentation of India's case. The discussions are understood to have concluded....."

**Mr. C.M. G. Ogilvie**: They are not.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am thankful for that small mercy and wish the Government of India God speed:

> "'Sir Ivo Vesey being due to leave for India in the coming week'. (This is from the issue of the 31st July.) 'No indication, however, is so far forthcoming as to whether or how far His Majesty's Government are prepared to compensate the Indian budget'."

Well, Sir, after this, does the Member for Government, Mr. Ogilvie, really think that this motion for adjournment is premature? I think he has got plenty of sense of humour and I am sure when he said that it is premature, he means, and I am sure, he thinks it is fully ripe and that this motion ought to be carried unanimously. This is the only course open to us to mark our deep sense of condemnation of and pass severe censure on the Government of India which has for its head the Secretary of State for India who should have allowed His Majesty's Government to take the unjust decision under review.

*Legislative Assembly Debates, 1938, Vol: IV, pp. 198, 224-25, 237-40.*

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## 224

### Speech at a tea party given by the Anjuman-e-Islamia, Simla, August 13, 1938

"Can democratic parliamentary Government succeed in India? Is it suited to the conditions of the country? It is not the democratic majority that has formed the government in the seven provinces; it is the permanent Hindu majority which cannot be altered by any change whatsoever and hence it is a travesty of the system which may be worthwhile in England." Thus observed Mr. M. A. Jinnah at a party given in honour of the newly formed Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature by the Anjuman-e-Islamia, Simla.

Thanking the Anjuman for the honour, Mr. Jinnah said that "today in seven provinces there are Congress Governments and there are great powers entrusted to the Ministers. It is indeed deplorable that the little power they have got are used against Mussalmans and the Congress High Command mindful of it tolerated it."

**The Four Forces**

"In our country", he continued, "we have got four main forces that are sitting at the chessboard. One is the British Government, the most organised force which is still ruling this country. The other is the Hindus, a great community most organised and most powerful. Today unfortunately they are in the hands of the Congress High Command which is going wrong. The third force are the Mussalmans. A year ago the Mussalmans were like orphans, homeless, shelterless, scattered, divided and broken, demoralised and degenerated, particularly due to their own fault because they were indifferent and careless. We were divided and that was our condition a year ago. Today, the Mussalmans have awakened and are a third force

and we mean to remain as a third force and we are going to play our part, worthy of our past heritage. There is yet another force which is not quite visible at present but is a very big force – the Indian States."

Commenting on the attitude of a few educated Mussalmans, he emphasised, "India is not a nation state; it is a state of nationalities. That being so, the more you ignore it the more you try to mislead yourselves."

**Parliamentary System Suitable?**

"The Hindus who are very loyal are blindly guided by he Congress High Command; and of course there is a natural feeling that a Hindu must stand by a Hindu and therefore they believed in whatever that High Command of the Congress is doing or saying for them. But this High Command of the Congress is the body that has got to be brought to its senses and they can only be brought to their senses by us, and I am sure our Hindu friends will realise that the High Command is doing them the greatest possible harm in pursuing the policy they are following today. Therefore, the question is this: What next? We are now trying an experiment. Is that experiment? The mighty British Government naturally cannot think of any other system of Government because their Government is on the lines of democratic parliamentary system of Government and therefore, they cannot think of anything else. It is the growth in England of six centuries which is suited to the genius of their people; and it has been developed for the last 600 years. But the question is 'Can this democratic parliamentary Government succeed in this country? Is it suited to the conditions of this country? Is it suited to the genius of this country?' From the first contact it is not a democratic majority in the seven Congress provinces. It is not a democratic majority that has formed the Government and is carrying on; it is the permanent Hindu majority which cannot be altered by any change whatsoever and therefore it is the travesty

of the system which may be worthwhile in England. But when it is planted here, you see, that it is a failure. What is the result – the permanent Hindu majority and the ministry that is a Hindu ministry. And naturally what else could you expect? It must pursue the policy and the programme which necessarily is a Hindu policy and it must therefore bring everybody down to submit to that programme.

"I do not know how far this machine which is now planted here when every other country in Europe has given it up will succeed. Therefore, I say to you my friends come on one platform, stand under one flag. It is not a question of today, it is not a question of tomorrow, a statesman looks at least 25 years ahead. I want you to organise yourselves and prepare yourselves to be ready for defence and if necessary to resist any encroachment upon our rights and to play your part in any emergency that may arise at any time in the course of next 25 years. This is the task before you.

**Communalist Bogey**

"Nobody has ever helped not even this mighty high Command of the Congress. What interests have they taken in Mussalmans' welfare, economic, social, political and educational? Hundreds and hundreds of schools are going on among the Hindus. Many are the institutions of economic uplift of the Hindus. During the last 30 years what special interest was taken for this backward community, numerically small, financially bankrupt, economically nil and educationally most backward? On what occasion the Congress really took up any real and particular question of special interest to the Mussalmans so that they may be encouraged? When we say we want to organise our people because under the present condition Mussalmans must organise themselves not to fight anybody but to co-operate. We are ready to co-operate and in fact we are anxious to co-operate and want co-operation. We want to serve our motherland just

like any other body and organise ourselves. And we thought it was high time if we tried to put our house in order. And when our representatives were returned on the ticket of the Muslim League what was the answer. The answer was "Surrender, sign our pledge, agree to our programme, liquidate the Muslim League and we will give you some ministries." This is the answer. While I am trying to raise this one big wonderful part of India, this great community which is adrift, when I am trying to put life into them to organise them and bring them together, this is the attitude that is adopted. And in conclusion I am told I am a communalist. The answer was if I am a communalist because I am doing all this I am very proud to be a communalist.

**Defence of Congress Attack**

"When the Congress press was exhausted by repeating and calling me communalist, they thought they will find out some other slogan. It is getting stale because this fellow says I am proud to be communalist. Well they found out another slogan. Muslim League is reactionary where there are so many toadies. There may be some toadies, I do not deny. But let me tell you that these people who attack us today know perfectly well that it is absolutely untrue to blame the Muslim League and call it reactionary. There are lakhs and lakhs of people who are members of the Muslim League and it is in their hands to direct it, it is their right to choose their leaders or dismiss their leaders. It is in their hands and I hope that we shall soon be able to show that we are in a position now to choose our leaders, our office bearers and choose our men according to our own choice. They will be the representatives of the Mussalmans and command their respect. But when we say we have got some toadies I would like to know how many crooks and cranks there are in the Congress. Well they are also getting tired now of repeating the slogan that we are reactionary because (they know) what, after all, is the good of shouting that which is not true. So now the latest slogan is that we are fanatics and we are

encouraging fanaticism. While the answer to every grievance, every complaint, every criticism is that Mussalmans are fanatics, they are goondas and they are out to create disorder. This is the answer now. We have come to this stage We have gone through three stages – communalists, reactionaries and now fanatics. Well let us hope that we shall live down this charge also and show them that we are a disciplined, well organised people and we can be equal to anybody else in organisation.

"In conclusion," he said, "look far ahead. You have to play a big part in the destinies of this country. We love this country but as a free citizen along with any other free citizen not as a subordinate or a slave to anybody else. I am sure and I am confident that it will be realised and I feel confident that our Hindu brethren will join hands with us and smash this High Command which is the greatest enemy of this country. I do not want to say anything more today. Talk less, let us work, work, work, organise ourselves, harness our resources, create solidarity and unity, make sacrifices in the right sense and I say there is the finest and brightest future for the Mussalmans in this country.

*The Deccan Times, August 28, 1938.*

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## 225

### Statement repudiating Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani's Statement, Simla, August 18, 1938.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has issued the following statement:

"My attention has been drawn to a speech of Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani delivered at Ghaziabad on August 15 in which he is reported to have stated as follows:

"The reason why we did not oppose the League candidate at the general elections was that Mr. Jinnah had assured us then that the policy of the League had changed and the League was pledged to complete independence. But we were soon disillusioned when after the elections we were told by Mr. Jinnah that that talk before the election was merely a political stunt."

"The whole of the statement is entirely untrue. As to why some member of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind joined the League in 1936 and whole-heartedly supported the League candidates and that soon after suddenly left the League remains a mystery to me." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, August 19, 1938.*

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## 226

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Criminal Law Amendment Bill", Simla, August 22, 1938.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** (Defence Secretary): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the criminal law.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the criminal law."

The motion was adopted.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

....

**The Honourable Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji**:..... I submit that upon all these considerations the House will hold that as a matter of fact.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): May I interrupt the Honourable Member and may I ask him one question Will he inform the House whether the Government of India have brought this Bill simply because the Punjab Government wants it or whether the Government of India, as the Government of India, are satisfied as to the necessity of it

**The Honourable Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji**: Both the elements are present. As a matter of fact, the Punjab Government have asked for some measure of this description, and the Government of India, as far as I know, have had materials before them to the effect that similar offences.....

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**:..... I will only call attention to some salient points – particularly to one or two which my Honourable friend, Mr. Aikman, and others mentioned – out of deference to the speech that he made. The point shortly is this: In the war of 1914, Sir, I have a vivid recollection as to how, – if you must use the word "loyalty", – our loyalty was purchased our loyalty was influenced. I was one of those and I dare say there are some others in the House – probably my friend, Mr. Jinnah, also was there – who gathered in the Town Hall.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I had the honour to differ from you very much on that occasion.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: Yes, I will presently point out what the difference was; the difference was not in the direction in which he is now moving but in the opposite direction. ("Hear, hear" from Congress Benches), – I hope and trust that he will remember the principles he then preached and will not go back

upon them, – but I have no desire to enter into an argument *ad hominum*, – I have an argument of my own with which I wish to deal, at least to the extent I can, to establish the issues which I wish to make for the consideration of this House, – but the fact remains that we were invited to the Town Hall in Bombay, and we were solemnly told by Lord Willingdon, for whom undoubtedly neither of us had very much affection.

**Mr. M.A. Jinnah**: I do not know about you.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: I know very much about my friend, – anyway I think it is very unjust that we should enter into personal dispute. We stand on principles, and I hope my friend, assuming it is necessary to justify any position, will do so on matters of principle, – but I was merely on the question of issue. We were called together and told, – 'Here is an Empire engaged in a big war, and after all, what is it being fought for?'. This was during the middle of the war when the being became more and more tense, when recruits and money were both required, and, I believe, on the following day a meeting was to be held in the Town Hall of Bombay for the purpose of inaugurating what was called the War Loan. At that time a message was read out to us purporting it to come from Mr. Lloyd George who then successfully began what was called the great drive for national protection. And he said, echoing, I believe, the words of President Wilson, – that this is a war for the salvation and liberation of the subject races. On that promise, on that hope, on that inducement, our loyalty was called into being, and we did everything....

.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, so much heat has been generated into this debate and so much passion has been imported into it that it is very difficult for one to get up in this electrified atmosphere to reason before this House. But I am obliged at any rate to put the case of

my Party for what it is worth. Sir, the more passion and the more heat you bring into this debate, the less room there is for reason and commonsense.

The next observation I should like to make is this, – and I say this with a certain amount of regret – that the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition should have used the expressions which he did in this speech. Coming from a back-bencher I would not have minded them, and one could understand that, but what was his argument? What were his assertions? They were, Sir, more or less of this character, – that any man who is going to support this Bill ought to be ashamed of himself. That is regrettable, coming as it did from the Leader of the Opposition. He said that any man who is going to support this Bill will be selling the freedom of his country and betraying the country's liberty. Then, he wound up with an expression of regret and intimidation which is not worthy of the Leader of the Opposition. He said: "You, the Muslim League, are occupying a position of balance. Probably this is not going to last. There is soon coming a time when that Bench will disappear!" And, then, what does he foreshadow for us – that we should be crushed down, ground down by a brute Hindu majority. Does he think that we shall not have the courage of our conviction and our opinions. Sir, is this democracy? Sir, I deprecate this attitude, I deplore it, and I do ask the Leader of the Opposition to reconsider his position; it is really not worthy of him, and I will not say anything more about the various other insinuations and invectives which he and others of his Party indulged in; but I can assure the House and my honourable friends of the Congress Party here on the right, with whom we have the misfortune or good fortune to differ on this question – and believe me that I am not actuated by any other consideration except the interests of India. Therefore, let us get back to calm, cool and careful consideration of this matter.

Sir, this Bill has had so much extraneous matter

imported into it – it has gone from Peru to Java and China – we have discussed all sorts of things, but let us consider this Bill dispassionately and let us see whether this Bill, in *present conditions* – please remember that – is called for; situated as we are is a factor. I wish we could do something better – do not think that I do not understand the policy which you are standing for – unfortunately, I cannot accept that policy, with the same motives, and give me the same credit as I give you credit for; you honestly believe it that it is good for you, and I honestly believe that it is not good for the country – at any rate let us debate and discuss the motion on the floor of this House calmly, coolly and with careful consideration. Now, Sir, the first point that I would like to touch upon before I proceed further is this: Has the Provincial Government of the Punjab the power to enact this measure if they require it for their own province? – Now, Sir, the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition made his speech and I heard him with great attention, and so did I the speech of the Honourable the Law Member on behalf of the Government. Well, when I heard the Law Member on behalf of the Government I really felt that he expounded the correct position as far as I am able to judge at the present moment. But when the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition argued – he will correct me if I am wrong – he did not take into account entry 42 in Federal List I and he did not mention that entry at all. Now, if you only mention entry 42 in List I, then, with the utmost respect, the whole of his argument falls to the ground. The position is this. You have got in the Federal List entry No.1, which has been read to the House and I need not repeat it. Now, if you read entry I with entry 42, it seems to me that they cover this Bill. Then we come to List II, the Provincial List and the only entry that I can find in it is 37 which does not seem, in my judgment, to attract any application so far as this Bill is concerned. Then, we come to List III, entry 1. It seems to exclude this Bill because the matters which are excluded in this List cannot possibly cover this Bill. In fact, it excludes it. May I, with

your permission, Sir, read entry 1 of this List. It says:

> "Criminal law, including all matters included in the Indian Penal Code at the date of the passing of this Act; but excluding offences against laws with respect to any of the matters specified in List I or List II and excluding the use of His Majesty's naval, military and air forces in aid of the civil power."

There is one more quotations on this point from section 100 of the Government of India Act which bears on the subject. Sub-section (1) of section 100 of the Government of India Act, which I am going to quote, should be read in conjunction with Lists Nos.I, II, and III. This is what sub-section (1) says:

> "Notwithstanding anything in the two next succeeding sub-sections, the Federal Legislature has, and a Provincial Legislature has not, power to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in List I in the Seventh Schedule to this Act (hereinafter called the 'Federal Legislative List')."

After all, one can only express one's own opinion after reading the various parts of the Act and these Lists. Nothing is certain in this world. I am not committing myself to anything which may, in future, be quoted as a precedent, but as far as I have applied my mind I am satisfied that the Provincial Government cannot enact a measure of this character. If this is so, then the next question which arises is this, that we have got definitely on the statement of the Law Member, on behalf of the Government of India, that the Provincial Government of the Punjab have desired for such a measure and that the Government of India have considered it and have examined the materials, and they have come to the conclusion: Concurring with the Punjab Government, that there is a necessity for a measure of this character. Now, I will tell you how my mind has

evolved various points and what has been the reaction from time to time. The first question to which I had to apply my mind was whether there was a necessity for this measure and whether the Legislature should pass a measure of this character. Undoubtedly, it is a measure which creates a new offence. Undoubtedly, this Bill proposes to place on the Statute-book an *ad hoc* statue, and we cannot pass it merely because the Government comes before us and says that they want it. When the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill put his case, I can frankly tell you that my reaction at that time was that no case was made out to begin with, and there was no necessity for it. I must say I was very much amazed, but I do not know what the reasons are. I do not know why the case was not put from the very beginning in the manner in which it might have been put. Later on, I pursued the examination of this point and I followed the other speeches and I followed the speech of the Honourable the Home Member with great care. I hope you will forgive me, because I have no desire really to offend anybody, and I do not want to say anything which will hurt anybody's feelings, but you will forgive me when I say that I had not much doubts whether a *prima facie* case was made out by the Honourable the Home Member. But whatever little room there was for doubt in my mind was completely removed by the speeches that followed from these Congress Benches on this side. You have definitely declared — I do not say wrongly or rightly — that you are going to preach and persuade and carry on the agitation to stop the enlistment to the army and to stop the recruitment to the army. You have definitely said that, and not only that but that it is your policy that you are going to instigate acts of mutiny and insubordination in these would-be recruits and those who are in the army.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** (Madrass City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Nobody said that.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I know that the speeches of the

honourable members on the Congress benches have been very contradictory and have been very conflicting. I am not taking one speech or two speeches but I am taking, if you will pardon me, the net result of all the speeches. One member said that he stands for pacifism. We have got in every country cranks and crooks who stand for pacifism. I forgive him; he is entitled to his opinion. I want nothing but entire pacifism all over the world. There should be no war. There should be peace and plenty all over the world. I have no objection of any kind if all wars are banned. I am not now concerned with those honourable members who believe in pacifism. For myself, it is not a question of belief in pacifism or not believing in pacifism. I believe in saving my neck if I am in danger. I do not want to hurt anybody. I want to be a very good man, but it does not follow that everybody in this world is good and they do not want to hurt me. Therefore, I say that it is really not a question of pacifism or non-pacifism. As practical men are we going to defend ourselves or not? That is the question. I say I am going to defend myself. That is my first point. My honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, has enunciated six points as a condition precedent to accepting this Bill.

**An Honourable Member**: What about your 21 points?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Mr. Satyamurti has reduced it to six points and other honourable members generally have not confined themselves to six points. They asked for more which he did not. I will come to them in proper time. The question really is, first of all, as to the necessity. I do not know whether I am right or wrong. I shall be very sorry to put something in the mouth of honourable members on those benches which they did not mean, but it is for the House to Judge, and, at any rate, to examine the Bill. Never mind whether I am right or wrong in interpreting the attitude of the Congress Party. The Bill, as I have analysed it, relates to two points and a third point which may or may not occur. The first point is:

"Willfully dissuades or attempts to dissuade the public or any person from entering the Military, Naval or Air forces of His Majesty."

That means really interfering with recruitment. The second part of the Bill is:

"Without dissuading or attempting to dissuade any person from entering such forces, instigates the public or any person to do, after entering any such forces, anything which is an offence punishable as mutiny or insubordination...."

Therefore, to put in a nutshell, it is agitation, movement organised or otherwise to interfere with recruits in the army and, secondly, to instigate those who are in the army or who enter the army to commit acts of mutiny or insubordination. These are the only two points in the Bill. Now, I would ask the honourable members this question: do you want me to send this message – do not forget the present conditions in which we are – to my countrymen and say, do not enlist in the army? If you enlist, then mutiny: do you want me to instigate every member of the army from the sepoy upwards to an officer, Indian, of course, I am talking – that they should mutiny and that they should commit acts of insubordination? Is this the message that you want me to convey to the army in India in the present conditions in which we are situated? I am unable to do so. Do you want this message to be sent, do you want this lead to be given to your men – men who will be your better material, superior material, because it is only these men who will obey that message or that lead? What will be the consequence to these men? Are we merely to send this message and send this lead from this House or are we going to pursue this message and follow it up with a definite programme against this wicked Government? Are we in a position to do that? Let me tell this House what will be the consequence. I got a letter from an ex-prisoner only three days ago. It is a heart-rending letter. He has

described how he was carried away and what his position to-day is, and in what plight he is to-day. I will show that letter to my honourable friends of the Congress Party if they want. They can verify for themselves. Do you want me to tell these men who are likely to be influenced to run the risk? What will it result in? It will result in blasting the career of some of these men; it will result in ruination of their lives, and if there is a serious revolt it will result in loss of life of these men. Would you be able to break this machine? I am not satisfied that we could do it now or are ready for it. May I, therefore, counsel you, with all the passion at my command, let us find out other channels, other avenues, let us concentrate on something practical and then I think you might achieve your object. I am not afraid of revolution. I think it is the right of every country to revolt. If I instigate the army to-day, it will be only disastrous to me and not to the opponent whom I want to hit. In other words, I do not want to cut my nose in order to spite my face. That is the only reasoning which compels me to take up the attitude that I do. My honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, and other honourable members were narrating a catalogue of grievances or a catalogue of charges against the Government. This is really not a communal question. I do not wish to give it the slightest communal turn because communalism has really nothing to do with the Bill. It has nothing to do with any particular community. Well, if an argument was necessary, I say there is a tendency amongst Congressmen sometimes to appeal to the Muslims in the name of their religion, sometimes there is a tendency to coerce them, sometimes there is a tendency of intimidating them. There was manifest in this debate that tendency to influence the Muslim League members. Mr. Gadgil and some other honourable members brought in the question of Palestine. I entirely agree with them in their points of view with regard to Palestine and Waziristan. At any rate to satisfy you about our *bona fides* I say that we are supporting the principle of the Bill in spite of Palestine and Waziristan. If anything we

Muslims have got much greater grievance against this Government than the Congress Party has. We whole-heartedly join you and we feel in the same way as you do for our country. We have, moreover, feelings of sympathy for our co-religionists in other parts of the world. Apart from their being our co-religionists, we feel that the policy which the British Government are pursuing in Palestine and in Waziristan is unjust and brutal. Well, then we have got a much greater grievance. I am not introducing any communal issue at all. I am only arguing in this way that we Muslims have got much more and greater grievances against this Government than you can possibly have. Then what object have we to support this Bill? Because, as somebody says, we feel that it is a lesser evil. It is the inevitability and practicability which force down our hands.

Now, then, with regard to the catalogue of charges. Some honourable member said, "I will not allow you to pass this Bill unless you agree here and now on the floor of this House to repeal the Government of India Act, 1935, and give me the constitution I want." Another point was, — I will read out those interesting points in Mr. Satyamurti's speech, and there is a great deal that I agree with:

> "First, by amending the Government of India Act and handing our Defence to a responsible minister, responsible for the defence of the country."

That is to be the first gesture in favour of recruitment. Do you not think you are trying to kill a fly on a wheel? Do you think that by your throwing out this Bill you will make Government give you what you want? Is this a lever strong enough to move this Government? Are you in earnest?

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Yes.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: By throwing out this Bill only or also encouraging acts of mutiny and insubordination? Surely.

Now let me get on:

> Secondly, you want "withdrawal of British troops as soon as possible from the country completely."

But is this not a contradiction in terms? Of course we want the British troops to be withdrawn from this country. That is the policy we have persistently maintained, and the argument is unanswerable, unassailable, except, of course, that the Government is not willing; and we want the army in this country to be completely Indianised. I have for many years fought for it, with very little success, if any at all. But, at the same time, you say that the best material – because those who will hear your message will be your best material – should not join the army, and, therefore, in the result the undesirables and the worst mercenaries will join the army. In the same breath you want the army to be Indianised. Is this not a contradiction in terms? I know we are impatient because we have reason to be impatient. But this is not the way to do it; by saying: "Do this or else I will throw out this Bill," – with what results? I am not in love with this Bill at all and would like to throw it out, but who will suffer for it? That is the question.

Then the next point is this:

> "Thirdly, by frankly and honestly accepting a scheme of Indianisation which will Indianise the ranks within 20 years at the most."

I whole-heartedly support it. I have stood for it, I cannot tell you for how long. And let me tell you that in the Defence Committee of the first Round Table Conference even on a modest proposal made by me, I found to my regret that there was not a single Indian who supported me. And the proposal was that at any rate in the future the officer ranks should be recruited from amongst the Indians only and not Britishers. Even then I do not know how long it would take. One estimate

was that it would take 40 years and another estimate was 50 years. But even then it would have taken 40 to 50 years before the officer ranks of the Indian army would have been completely Indianised. That was a proposal for which I fought single-handed, and if you will look up; the proceedings you will see that there was not another Indian to support me.

Then the fourth point is this :

"By treating our Indian officers well and encouraging them."

But you are going to instigate them to acts of mutiny and insubordination. The Bill aims at preventing that, and if no one attempts to do that it will remain a dead letter. It was there in 1932 and was repealed in 1935. I do not know what happened to this Government, bad as it is; probably they were in a good frame of mind; they have their own calculations, sometimes correct and sometimes not. Anyhow, they came up in 1935 and repealed that part of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Therefore, when you say "Treat our officers well and encourage them," that will depend upon ourselves.

"Fifthly, by abolishing the eight-unit scheme and making British and Indian officers equals and allowing Indian officers to command British officers and not keeping them back on racial grounds."

I entirely agree. That is not a new point at all.

Sixthly, by making it clear to His Majesty's Government that Indians will not take part in any war against the interests or the will of India."

On that point I entirely agree. Government say that the Indian army is "primarily and mainly" for the interests of India and for the internal security of India. There is a loophole in this phraseology and I want to go further and say that it should be entirely and solely and only in the interests of India. And if you

want to use our army you can only do it in such war or difficulty or trouble as is likely to affect the Indian interests, and in which we would willingly co-operate with you and help you. But I quite agree that there is a loophole under the present constitutional position, and having regard to the right over and control and the vesting of army in the hands which are not responsible to us, how is that to be cured? As my honourable friend Mr. Satyamurti said, and somebody else said, the India of 1914 was different from the India of 1938. I am now contemplating a war, having passed through the stage of recruitment and instigation to mutiny and insubordination. Let us see what should or would be done with our army having this Bill as a Statute. And let me tell you that, however dull an Englishman may be, he is not quite so dull as not to realise what is the true force of public opinion in this country, not withstanding the provisions of this Bill. And, as I said, I again recommend to you, let us try other channels and other methods which are in our hands, which we are neglecting and we are frittering away our energies in small matters. Let that time come – I do not know whether a war is going to break out or not: we have been hearing a lot about it lately, but I do not know whether it will break out – it does not look like breaking out for some time; but, so far as that contingency is concerned, let that contingency arise and then, if we follow the right lines which are available to us, believe me it will be very very difficult for this Government to utilise our army when we do not want it. Why do you say that you will be prevented from taking that attitude if we so decide? What is the obstacle in your way? This Bill which provides some punishment for a year or whatever it may be, – is that the obstacle in your way? Do you think as practical men, as politicians, that if a war breaks out tomorrow, it is not open to the Government to enact a measure of this character and even worse by ordinance? What will you do then? Will you be frightened then? The only obstacle is only one year's punishment or two years in this Bill.

**An Honourable Member**: Anticipating the result?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: We have moved an amendment to that effect and this Government cannot carry anything to which we do not agree. But I was only taking as an illustration of the point I wanted to make and it is this: this is for the period of time the third contingency I mentioned: the first period is the recruitment and the second is the instigating of officers and sepoys in the army to acts of insubordination: for that I certainly will not take any responsibility of endorsing it as I have explained; the third stage is this that the war breaks out. If I may say so I listened to the speech of my honourable friend, the Leader of the Nationalist Party, with very great respect and, whether I agree with him or not, be maintained, if I may say so, the dignity and position of a leader. He put his arguments very forcibly: similarly, my friend the Deputy President: he put this arguments and maintained dignity and position as a leader; and that was the point which was really revolving in my mind. My friend, Mr. Aney's point is that this is really done to anticipate a war. Now, at that time, the position will be this. As soon as the last war broke out we had Ordinances, the Defence of India Act and other things, in this country and in every other country. So, when a war breaks out, can you imagine that this Government is going to keep still? Probably they have got these Ordinances already ready in their Secretariat. The danger is there already — one year or two years or it may be five years; but I do not think that that is going to be an obstacle in the way if we are going to pursue the right lines and, God-willing, in spite of ordinances and in spite of the great machinery behind them, I do think we can paralyse them if they do not obey our will...

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury** (Assam: Muhammadan): May I know how?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I will tell you when the time comes. I have exhausted Mr. Satyamurti's six points: now I come back

to the Bill. So far as the Bill is concerned, I agree with Mr. Satyamurti that we do not want to hold the baby for the Punjab Government. Whether I am right or wrong in the opinion that the Punjab Legislature has no power to enact this measure, even assuming that I am right, I do not want this Statute to operate in the Punjab or in any province at all, as imposed by the Central Government. Therefore, we considered the matter very carefully and we have given an amendment and I will certainly not support this Bill unless that amendment is accepted, namely...

**Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury** (Bengal Landholders): It is an agreed amendment.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No, it is not. If you insinuate and attribute motives I have nothing more to say, but I have insisted upon it. It is no use saying: "Government have agreed." Do you really think that it is better that each province should decide for itself or not? If there is any meaning in provincial autonomy, we are going to pass this baby back to the Punjab Government and we will tell them: "Hold your baby!" If you want this measure, if you think there is a necessity for it, you stand the racket and take the responsibility and face your legislature. Therefore, this is one of the points I have insisted upon. Another point is that no person should be prosecuted without the previous sanction of the Local Government. I do not want this measure to be used for any other purpose — or rather abused; and, therefore, no person should be prosecuted except with the sanction of the Local Government. The next thing is with regard to the sentence. I think myself it will be sufficient and will serve the purpose we have in view if it is only one year and not more. With regard to clause 2(a) I am not satisfied with it and I propose it should be in this from — amendment No.7 on the supplementary list. That is on the supplementary list No.2:

"(a) With intent to affect adversely the recruitment of persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces of His

Majesty, willfully dissuades or attempts to dissuade the public or any person from entering any such forces, or."

I may say that it is not the last word on the amendment. If any other amendment comes from any other quarter, believe me, I am quite willing to consider and say whether I can agree or not.

**An Honourable Member**: Thank you.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: But that is a different point altogether. Therefore, having considered this from all points of view, I feel, and my Party feels that we shall be doing the greatest harm to our people under the conditions as they exist to-day — to allow, as it is threatened to do, a movement, an organised movement, an agitation, to stop recruitment, to instigate acts of mutiny and insubordination. Well, Sir, I regret I am unable to subscribe to that view, and I hope that one day perhaps my friends will realise that I have acted with the same motives they claim for themselves and that I have done a service to the interests of India."

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** (Defence Secretary): Sir, I have been accused of having been rather over brief in my speech on the motion for consideration. I was, however, under the impression that a brief description of the intense campaign against recruitment that is now being carried on in the Punjab, and a summary of the view, the expressed views, of the people who were carrying it on, would be sufficient. I may again be guilty of the error of over-brevity, as my friend, Mr. Jinnah, in his most lucid exposition, has shown most clearly the nature of the case, if it can be so-called, which we have to meet. I am particularly grateful to him for disposing finally of the legal point....

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Finally?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: Finally

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Federal Court!

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: I am particularly grateful to him for disposing finally of the legal point, as I feel I am singularly ill-equipped to cross swords in that field with so eminent and experienced a jurist as the Leader of the Opposition. There were three statements made by the Opposition speakers with which I cordially agree, one by my friend, Mr. Aney, that the debate has been remarkable for the extreme frankness of the views expressed, the second was a remark in my friend Mr. Asaf Ali's speech to the effect that the debate had had a chequered career, and the third was culled from the oration of the same speaker was that many speakers bad unfortunately side-stepped the issue. There were in fact very few arguments adduced which had any close connection with the Bill itself. I will start with those which, in my opinion, had least connection and get those out of the way.

As my friend, Sardar Mangal Singh said, the Opposition had succeeded in getting discussed or debated by themselves various adjournment motions which had been disallowed on grounds of public policy. I presume that their connection with the Bill was that a Government which would do things like that deserved to have its army tampered with. The first of them was the case of bombing on the Frontier, and we heard a very horrible and lurid account of it from my friend, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, according to which, one would, if one knew nothing about it, draw the conclusion that peaceful, harmless, humble, highlanders were being bombed to extinction in their village homes, that no women or children were left alive in Waziristan.....

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum** (North-West Frontier Province: General ): I never said that.

.....

**Sheikh Fazl-i-Haq Priacha**:..... Under the circumstances mentioned by the Honourable the Leader of our Party in

his eloquent speech this morning, although we were against defeating the Bill altogether and opposed the circulation motion, we are nevertheless keen on passing this Bill in the best acceptable form, so that it may not be used for any other purpose than the one aimed at, and to make it as little repressive as possible. I hope that if the Government also accepts this amendment of mine, the Bill will not be viewed with so much hatred and contempt as it has been viewed in the discussion. I hope the Government will have no objection to accepting this amendment and will help to make the measure more acceptable. Sir, I move.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Amendment moved:

" 'That for sub-clause (3) of clause 1 of the Bill, the following be substituted"

'(3) It shall come into force in a Province on such date as the Provincial Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf for such province'."

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: Sir Government have no objection whatever to accept this amendment in principle, but with your permission, I should like to propose a small drafting amendment. Sub-section (3) should read:

" This section shall come into force at once. The rest of the Act shall come into force in any province on such date as the Provincial Government may by notification in the official Gazette appoint in this behalf for the province."

**Mr. K. Santhanam** (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly): Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, we have not got this amendment before us.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: If there is no objection.....

**Mr. K. Santhanam**: We have objection.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: Subject to the drafting change, Government are prepared to accept the amendment.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): There is objection taken: I don't think the amendment can be allowed.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** (Member for Commerce and Labour): It is only a drafting amendment, and drafting amendments have always been allowed.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) : If somebody will explain the significance of the change, I can consider it. Is there any change of substance?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: There is no change of substance at all.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): I want to know how there is no change of substance.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: The idea is that section I should clearly be kept alive, and this wording, in our opinion, does it better than the wording of the amendment as proposed by my Honourable friend.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Is that all?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: Yes.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I do not quite understand what the amendment is, and I do not think that the House has understood what the amendment is.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): I am afraid I cannot allow this change.

The question is:

" That for sub-clause (3) of clause 1 of the Bill, the following be substituted:

' (3) It shall come into force in a Province on such date as the Provincial Government may, be notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf for such province'."

The motion was adopted.

.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: May I inform the Honourable Member that as I had heard — I am glad if it is untrue — that the Congress Party might not take part in the further proceedings of this Bill, I stipulated with the Government and said that unless they accept my amendments, I should vote with the Congress for the circulation of the Bill, which means its virtual rejection.

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh**: I am glad that Mr. Jinnah has verified my statement. It only goes to prove that if the Congress Party had not been in this House, there would have been no occasion for this stipulation and the agreement of the Government.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Quite right. You can be very useful.

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh**: I tell you that in spite of the gibes and jokes we mean to be. What is the second realistic view of the situation that we have to see. I see the point is made that if the Britishers were to leave India, what would happen to us? I think that only a poet or a lover or a lunatic can accept this view. You can take it from me that Great Britain is not going to leave India unless she is driven out by force of circumstances. In spite of what the Congress Party might say, in spite of what the Muslim League Members might say, let us look at the facts as they are. It is not possible for us to drive the English out of this

country. If we could, we would like to. But as I say I belong to a practical profession, and I am determined to take a practical view of the Bill before the House. Therefore, in the absence of force of circumstances, it is always best to accept the practical situation as it is, it is always best to accept the practical situation as it is. I say that the British people are not going out of this country unless they are forced to do so by force of circumstances. Therefore, all these talks that we have heard that if England were to leave India, supposing we were to ask our people not to join the army, not to be recruited and if ever this thing comes to pass, India will be without an army, without defence; or the other picture that Srimathi India speaking to Dame England, "well sister, what will we do if you leave India", I say all these are fit only for poets or the other people I mentioned before. What is this war that we are talking about? Some people say that war is going to come. Others say that war is not going to come. I am no military expert as I do not belong even to the famous service which knows everything about everything on the face of the earth. What I do say is this. Assuming that war is going to come, how is this Bill going to help us? Personally I do not believe that war is going to come to India soon. It is for this reason. India has got a large seaboard and you cannot imagine any European power coming by the sea and invading India. Very well. So far as war is concerned, what is modern warfare? Modern war is solely confined to air attacks. Can you imagine any European power marching through the continent of Asia and walking through the Khyber pass and attacking India by air?

**An Honourable Member**: They will come by Lloyd Tristeno.

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh**: I am going presently to mention to you that our great Indian Navy for which the Punjab Government has applied for recruitment is going to prevent that! Indeed no man in his senses can imagine that any nation is going to invade India by way of the sea. Nor do I think that

anybody in his senses is going to imagine at the present stage, that he will witness the march of the Central Asiatic hordes of people, horsemen marching through the Khyber Pass. What is our army meant for? The army that we have is sufficient for the defence of our country and if the defence Secretary says, 'no', then I want to ask him what has he been doing so far. I say our present forces are enough for the defence of India. How then is the main attack from foreign power going to come? It is going to come through the air and there again the Punjab Government have applied for recruitment to the Air Force also.....

....

**Mr. Sri Prakasa**:.....I think this Bill cannot possibly be improved because it is so utterly bad from start to finish; and, therefore, I cannot congratulate those friends of mine who are responsible for the amendments. I fear that the very fact that Government have accepted those amendments gives rise to legitimate suspicion. My dislike to this Bill, and to every other Bill or Act that can possibly make my countrymen servants of a foreign power, is so great that they will all have my strongest opposition. More times than I can remember I have said in this House and outside that I am not for Indianisation till we have got Swaraj; for every countryman of mine who joins the service of the British Government in this country is used against ourselves. We see this, day after day, in this House and we see this, day after day, outside this House, and, therefore, my opposition to this Bill is due to my desire that no Indian shall join the British army. I make no secret of it. Whether this Bill is passed into law or not, I am going to say this inside this House, where I happen to be privileged, and outside this House, when I am not privileged: whether the punishment is for two years or one year or whether the punishment is what my Honourble friend, the Defence Secretary, would like, namely, a shot at sight I am going to say what I think is right.

In the course of this debate hard words have been spoken. I certainly have no idea to use any hard words. In fact I should like to follow the example of the Honourable the Law Member and speak as quietly and as calmly as I can. But one thing I should like to put out of my way immediately. Our Honourable friend, the Leader of the Muslim League, said and said quite rightly that he was anxious to save his neck. But as an elder, as one whom not only I but millions of my countrymen esteem, may I ask him whether he would like to save his neck by sacrificing other people's necks? Surely men of his age will not he recruited. Will he like, I ask him as a person learned in law and in various other departments of intellectual endeavour, will he like that other people should recruit themselves, and should die in air, in water and on land because his solitary neck may be saved? No. I do not think he would like that to be done....

**An Honourable Member**: He wanted to save your neck also.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa**: I may be recruited! Who will save my neck then?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: The Honourable Member is not representing me correctly. I did not mean that I wanted to save my neck only, but I wanted to say that I wanted to save the neck of my countrymen.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa**: I quite understand; but how can the necks of our countrymen be saved by recruiting them and sending them to war? The same argument applies to my Honourable friend, the Law Member. He referred, Sir, to List No.1 and List No.3 of some Act with which I am not familiar, but I have referred to List No.1 of the new recruits, and I find his name leading the rest, only it is written in indelible but invisible white ink. Of course, old men are not going to be recruited, and that is why old men are most enthusiastic about war.

Sir, I should very respectfully like to remove some of the misunderstanding under which my Honourable friend, — and when I say my Honourable friend I am not merely using a parliamentary convention but I mean what I say....

....

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**:....And, in regard to a concurrent subject, I wish to lay down that we ought not to rush in, unless at least the majority of the Provincial Governments want it. In this case, I assert again that no Local Government as such has wanted this Bill, we may legislate if we want uniformity, or at the request of two or more Provinical Governments or if there is a supreme all India purpose to be served. The fact is that Sir Sikander Hayat Khan one fine morning gets up and thinks that recruitment may be stopped and so he says, "I want the Bill' and the Government of India says: "yes". It does seem to me, Sir, that, in a matter of this kind, we are being rushed and we are establishing an unhealthy precedent for the future in the matter of the relation of the Federation towards the provinces.

As far as the case for this Bill is concerned, the Honourable the Leader of the Muslim League said that when he heard the Defence Secretary, he thought he had not made out his case but that our speeches made out a case for him.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I do not think that is quite correct, Sir. I said that when the Member in charge finished his speech, naturally I was not satisfied but that when the other speeches were made, particularly, the Honourable the Home Member's speech, I came to the conclusion that a *prima facie* case had been made and I said that if there was any doubt at all left, that doubt of mine was removed because of certain speeches that were made.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: I accept that correction. If a doubt were there, he would not have voted with the Government, but

the doubt was removed by various speeches of ours. Sir, who wanted the soldiers to mutiny? I deny, emphatically and categorically, that any Member of this Honourable House has ever said that we want soldiers and sailors to mutiny; we have too much respect for the safety and independence of our country to encourage any soldier or sailor to mutiny or to be insubordinate. Sir, there is no use taking one sentence and then building up a case for yourself. I ask my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Muslim League, to believe me when I say that we do not want mutiny or insubordination in the Army. Therefore, there is no case for this Bill.

Then, so far as the evidence for this Bill is concerned, no speeches have been produced at all. The Honourable the Home Member's speech was referred to. I look upon that speech as a very plausible, careful, and inoffensive one. I have no quarrel with the form of it. But, apart from giving some staggering numbers, I maintain that no speech has been placed yet before this House to convince any reasonable man that any attempt has been made in certain speeches to commit these "offences" as it is made out to be. Therefore, I suggest that so far as the case for this Bill is concerned, it is gone; and so far as the actual contents of the Bill are concerned, you are creating offences of acts which no civilized Government ought to create. As our Leader said, we must have the liberty to go and tell our fellow-citizens, "Do not join a mercenary army, do not be willing cannon-fodder for England's imperialistic ventures".

Sir, I was highly flattered yesterday when the Leader of the Muslims League did me the compliment of taking my speech and taking my six points one by one and saying one after the other, "I entirely agree". Sir, I have sometimes heard it said that in law courts judges occasionally say.....

....

**My Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): I

should like to know if the Honourable Member, Mr. Asaf Ali, wants to raise any point of order.

**Mr. M. Asaf Ali**: I wanted to put a question to the Honourable Member through you, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): But if the Honourable Member in possession of the House does not give way, you cannot do it.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman**: Sir, I may say that I have tried to be as parliamentary as I can. If any Member really is offended with my telling the truth, unfortunately I cannot help it.

I was just on this point, Sir, that we were accused by my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, who spoke just before me, that we were proud of the position we held in this House, namely, that we were holding the balance of power between the Government and the Congress. We were never accused like this before when we helped the Congress Party. I may assure my Honourable friends of the Congress Group once again that we will probably hold this balance of power for all times to come in this country. The Leader of the Opposition, for whom I have the greatest respect, has told us that we can probably be proud of this position for some time, but I can assure him that, as the biggest minority in this country, we shall hold this position for all time to come and be the decisive factor in all matters where there will be difference; and we shall always support the righteous cause.

**Several Honourable Members**: The question may now be put.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The question is.....

**Mr. M.S. Aney**: Sir, on a point of order, I submit that when a challenge has been thrown in a speech by a speaker to

certain Muslim Members of this House, is it not right that those Members should be given a chance to reply before closure is accepted?

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: What was the challenge and to whom was it given?

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai** (Bombay Northern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, on a point of order. The point in this discussion is this. It is not a question of the last word at all. The question is whether this is the proper time when the Chair should accept a closure. I am not here to say that in so far as the actual subject of discussion is concerned, it would not be right of the Chair to accept closure at a stage like this. But the point that has now arisen is this. If the last speaker had only confined himself to making any strong case for himself he liked, – good, bad or indifferent – you would have been entitled to accept closure. But you cannot allow closure in the circumstances in which he said: "Muslim Members of the Congress know this and I challenge them to prove the contrary."

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: What was the challenge?

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: I have given as much as I was able to hear.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Then, what is the point of order.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: That is for the Chair to hear.

Sir, my point of order in which you have to give your ruling is this that it is quite conceivable that when there is a full discussion of a subject, it is entirely for the Chair to judge whether the discussion has been reasonable and full for the purpose of accepting a closure. But when, during the course of discussion, the last speaker deliberately throws out a challenge to another Party or a group of Members of another Party, it

would be entirely.....

.....

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman**: Sir, I only said that we Members of the Muslim League knew full well the position we hold and the responsibility we are taking for supporting the measure, and, at the same time the Muslim Members of the Congress Party also well know their own position and what they are doing.

**Mr. M. Asif Ali**: This is exactly what I said, Mr. Nauman had asserted, – I did not say a word beyond that, and I can assure him, – and all the Muslims Members of the House that our position, so far as the Congress Party is concerned, is one in which we exercise our responsibility with all the sense of responsibility that attaches to our position.

**Mr. M.A. Jinnah**: Sir, I should like to say.....

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) resumed the Chair.]

(After a pause). Oh, there was no President in the Chair at the moment.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Will the Honourable Member please speak up.

(Mr. Jinnah sat down and did not proceed with his remarks.)

**Mr. M. Asaf Ali**: Mr. President, having explained that position.....

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: Sir, I should like to point out....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I

think the Honourable Member is giving some explanation.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: He is asked to give an explanation on the point.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdul Rahim): What is the point.?

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: You cannot go back on the ruling.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: I am not going back on the ruling at all. I am merely explaining the position.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1938 Vol:IV, pp. 120, 603, 781-82, 841-49, 862-63, 868-69, 874, 941, 947-48, 953.*

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### Statement on the Burma situation, Simla, September 5, 1938

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the Associated Press, on the Burma situation says:

"Ever since the outbreak of trouble in Burma I have tried to follow it. Since then very full accounts have appeared in newspapers all over India, and I have now had an opportunity of meeting the representatives of Indians in Burma who are at present in Simla. And again today, to my regret, I notice from the newspapers as well as from telegrams that I have received that there has been a recrudescence of riots at Mandalay and Rangoon. The shocking accounts of brutality, murder, arson and destruction of property in Burma carried out in an organised

manner cannot but leave impression upon one's mind that the Government of Burma have failed to protect the life and property of Indian nationals in Burma. I wonder whether the Burmese Government will rise to the occasion now and maintain the name and reputation of Burma and, without further delay, see that these atrocities cease and that the Indian nationals who have survived are at least compensated for their sufferings, although the loss suffered in many cases is irreparable. I trust that the Burmese Government will carry out its elementary duty of bringing to book those who have inflicted untold misery upon innocent Indian victims and penalise the people and areas responsible for their misdeeds.

**Deepest Sympathy**

"To Indians in Burma I can only say that my deepest sympathies go out to them in their sufferings, that we in India will do whatever lies in our power to help our nationals in Burma, and that in the interests of both races I would appeal not only to the Burmese Government but to the Burmese people for they have to live together with Indians as their neighbours to condemn unequivocally those acts of brutality practised upon Indians and put a stop to them. And to the Indians may I also say that they should maintain their fortitude and adopt only honourable and lawful methods. In the meanwhile it is up to the Government of India to take up the matter firmly and press for action so that this may not form an easy precedent for future events of this character where different races and communities live together." (A.P.)

*The Civil Military Gazette, September 6, 1938.*

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## 228

### Statement regarding 'participation of Muslim members of legislatures in Muslim Congress on Palestine question', New Delhi, September 7, 1938.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President All India Muslim League, has received a letter from the Secretariat, Parliamentary Committee of Defence in Palestine, Cairo, inviting the Muslim members of the Indian Legislative Assemblies to attend the Muslim Congress to be held in cairo in October to consider the Palestine question. Mr. Jinnah has issued a statement asking Muslim members of various legislatures in India desirous of attending the Congress to inform him so that formal invitation may be issued to them. Mr. Jinnah's statement says:

"I have received the following letter from the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Committee for the defence in Palestine, Cairo, dated the 24th of August:

> "Thank you very much for your efforts and zeal towards the Palestine case and we hope that it will have quick and good results for its solution. We have been very happy to receive a letter from Mr. Siddiqi stating that he is working with you on behalf of the committee for the Congress. We hope you will succeed in calling the members of different legislative assemblies in India to attend the Congress. We are presently preparing invitation cards which will be ready for distribution in a week. We shall send you about 200 of them to be distributed amongst our brethren in India. His Excellency Allouba Pacha is returning to Cairo in the first week of September to continue his efforts for the Congress. We are depending upon your zeal and courage in the calling of the largest possible number of members of Legislative Councils to attend the Congress. It also

requires active and quick work because we have little time. The Congress will be held within forty days. Thanking you very much and hoping to see the fruitful results of your great efforts.'

"Will those members of the Muslim League parties in the various legislatures who wish to attend the Congress in Cairo kindly communicate with the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Central Office, Delhi, so that formal invitations may be sent to them as soon as they are received The Congress is likely to be held in the beginning of October. I am glad to say that the central office of the All India Muslim League at its new premises at Delhi Gate has now been fully reorganised. In future all correspondence other than personal in connection with the All India Muslim League should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Park Mansions, Delhi Gate, Delhi." (A.P.I.)

*The Tribune, September 8, 1938.*

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## 229

### Statement on the Congress machination to discredit the Punjab Government, New Delhi, September 8, 1938

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement:

"It is very difficult to make every individual understand the complex question of why we supported the principle of the Army Bill. The Bill was intended to guard against the propaganda that is being carried on in the Punjab to prevent recruitment to the Army and to instigate acts of mutiny and insubordination. The objects of those who are carrying on this organised move and, much to our regret, the support which is

being given to it by responsible Congress leaders, would result, if successful, in affecting the future recruits. Mussalmans form 65 to 70 per cent of the present strength of the Army and if they are goaded by misleading propaganda and instigation to resort to acts of insubordination and mutiny, their careers will be blasted and many of them will suffer severe penalties, as in the present conditions India is not ready for an armed revolution. It is to prevent these dangerous and disastrous consequences that would ensue to the Mussalmans and the Sikhs that the Punjab Government were naturally anxious for a measure necessary to deal with the situation.

"If the Congress machination were to succeed, their object being to discredit the Punjab Government, there would be serious revolt in the Army and the entire blame would be thrown on the Punjab Ministry which is predominantly Muslim. In the general interest of India we came to the conclusion that such a message or a lead should not emanate from responsible leaders of the Assembly, as men who are likely to pay any heed to our opinion would certainly come from the best national material of our people and we owe them a responsibility before we send any such indication to them to be acted upon as it is they who will suffer most.

**Central Matter**

"It is noteworthy that the Congress propaganda of this character is only practised in the Punjab and in no other province. We, therefore, considered, in the larger interest of our country and that of the Mussalmans in particular, that the principle of the Bill in the present conditions could not be rejected but instead of imposing the measure on the provinces from the Centre, it is left to the Ministry in each province who are responsible to their legislature and to the public to put into operation the provisions of the Bill as and when they think it necessary in their province. The subject matter not being

provincial, the provincial Governments or any one of them if they required could not enact such a measure in their respective legislatures as it relates to Defence and Army which is an exclusively Central subject and the Central Legislature alone could deal with it.

"We may point out to the average Mussalman that these general issues and questions which are engaging our attention from time to time are full of catches and there are wheels within wheels. And they must remember that political matters are like a game of chess. Therefore, it is difficult always to make every individual understand. They must not believe in the false and seductive propaganda, nor carried away when their sentiments and religious feelings are appealed to in the name of Palestine and Waziristan by our adversaries. I know that the Mussalmans are not yet sufficiently educated and trained in politics and I give them a word of caution not to be tricked into taking hasty actions by the plausible and intriguing arguments of our opponents." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, September 10, 1938*

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## 230

### Message to the Muslims of Bhopal
### September 18, 1938

"According to the present constitution of the All India Muslim League, membership of the League is confined to the residents of British India only and therefore it is obvious that we cannot establish the branches of the League in Indian states," says Mr. M.A. Jinnah in a message to the Muslims of Bhopal.

He continues: "But there is nothing to prevent Mussalmans from organising themselves wherever they are to

safeguard their rights and interests, and I need hardly say that no territorial limits can stand in the way of Mussalmans wherever they are. You may belong to one dominion and I may belong to another, but the children of Islam are bound to share the joys and sorrows of each other wherever they may be."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, September 20, 1938*

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## 231

### Speech after unfurling the Muslim League Flag, Karachi, October 7, 1938.

"A huge crowd crammed the conference *pandal* where Mr. Jinnah unfurled the League flag and made a short speech in which he said that the honour done him was not in a personal capacity but as the League President. He expressed the hope that Muslims of India would protect the flag even at the risk of losing their lives. "Islam cannot be suppressed", he declared, and although they wanted India free they wanted to live in that free India with dignity. Mr. Jinnah advised the Sind Muslims to unite and not form various parties. In the fight for political rights Sind Muslims must not be lagging behind other communities.

*The Times of India, October 8, 1938.*

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## 232

### Speech at the dinner at the Karachi, Club, Karachi, October 7, 1938

"We Muslims will not submit to any position of

subordination. Those dreaming of establishing domination over the Muslims will be disillusioned soon," observed Mr. Jinnah replying to Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatulla's toast at a dinner at the Karachi Club.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslims longed for an honourable place in the administration of the country. If this was denied then the Muslim were prepared to fight to the bitter end. Their quarrel was not with the Hindu community, but against the Congress High Command, which for the last one year had adopted a thoroughly antagonistic attitude to the Muslim League, dividing the Muslims and imposing Congress domination over them. This was very dangerous and would retard the progress of the country seriously.

Referring to Sind politics, Mr. Jinnah expressed sorrow that Sind was torn to pieces. He said that it was most extraordinary that the Governor did not agree to the summoning of the Legislature. He was shocked to hear that the Sind Assembly was not likely to meet till February.(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, October 11, 1938.*

**Another version**

Mr. M. A. Jinnah stated that he was proud to be a Sindhi* and also that he was born in Sind. He referred to Sind when it was still a part of the Bombay Presidency, very different from the rest of the province, geographically, physically and even naturally. He was glad that now it was an autonomous province. Commenting on Sind politics, Mr. Jinnah said that he was simply shocked when he learned that the next session of the Sind Legislature would not be called before February 1939.

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* Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, who was one of the hosts, had said earlier that Sind was proud of Mr. Jinnah because he was a Sindhi.

(There were cries of shame, shame.) Mr. Jinnah repeated the classic statement of Sir Ghulam Hussain that the nine crores of Muslims were not interested in the change of masters, but what they wanted was that they should be treated as honourable partners in the administration of the country. He maintained that Muslims could not accept any position of subordination and added that those who were under the impression that they could dominate over nine crores of Muslims would have to be disillusioned of that idea. According to Mr. Jinnah, the All India Muslim League was no doubt an organization of the Muslims, but it was definitely national in its policy. He said that the Muslims of India would fight till their last breath to gain their deserving place. Talking of the minorities, Mr. M. A. Jinnah asserted that all the minority communities of India should be made to feel a sense of security. They should be assured the they would be treated with justice and fair play. But the assurances should be, said Mr. Jinnah, in the form of deeds and not mere words. He criticized the attitude of the Congress High Command towards the Muslim League which he said was definitely directed to annihilate the League. He said the Congress wanted to foist their will on the Muslims of India.

Mr. Jinnah gave a solemn assurance that in Sind he would not chalk out a programme which would in anyway, whether by words or deeds, go against the legitimate rights of the Hindus who were in minority here. He appealed to the Hindus as well as the Muslims of Sind to help him in achieving the object which was very near his heart and which would raise the head of Sind before the other provinces of India. He concluded, "I am proud of Sind but if you help me in achieving this object, I shall be more proud than I have ever been in my life."

*The Daily Gazette, October 8, 1938*

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## 233

### Speech in reply to a Civic address presented to him by the citizens of Karachi, October 8, 1938

Mr. Jinnah thanked the Mayor and the Councillors of the Karachi Municipal Corporation for the honour done to him in the form of a civic welcome to the city of his birth.

Referring to the hope expressed in the address that he should lead the various communities of India to a life of peace and amity, he said that he had never flinched from the principle that co-operation and goodwill must be established between the different communities. Mr. Jinnah believed that in this alone lay the salvation of the country. He stated that though "peace and amity among different communities" was a motto which many people often repeated, but in practice it was rather difficult to accomplish. He gave an analogy from European politics where every nation cursed war and condemned the race in armaments, yet the very same nations continued their armament programmes and prepared for war.

Offering his own solution Mr. Jinnah said, "In order to bring about the desired happy state, it is incumbent on all the leaders of the different communities to realize the actualities and the realities. I call upon all leaders of the various communities to place all their cards on the table and then endeavour to solve the problems with which they are faced." Emphasising the same point he advised the leaders of the various communities to take cognizance of the existing actualities, even though they might have their own theories for solving their peculiar problems. Concluding his speech Mr. Jinnah enunciated the doctrine of "Live and let live" and urged the various Indian leaders to act in such a way as to give a sense of security to all the communities

living in the country.

*The Daily Gazette, October 9, 1938.*

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## 234

### Presidential Address at the Sind Muslim League Conference, Karachi, October 8, 1938.

"Ladies and Gentlemen! I thank you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over this All Sind Muslim League Conference. Sind has a wonderful history behind it and it gives me a peculiar pleasure that I should have the privilege of presiding over a great conference of Muslims. I most heartily congratulate you for having established the District Muslim Leagues in almost all of your Districts and having organized the Mussalmans of Sind in the manner in which you have done within such a short time. This great political consciousness and awakening that has taken place among the Mussalmans of Sind is a great pointer and I feel confident that with the help of your selfless leaders and workers, Sind will come into its own and set an example to the rest of India. You know the efforts of the All India Muslim League to separate Sind were seriously started in 1927 and the demand to separate Sind was incorporated in the Delhi Muslim League proposals in March 1927. It was a hard and arduous struggle but notwithstanding the strenuous opposition from various quarters ultimately it was decided to separate Sind from Bombay Presidency as an independent Province with a constitution on an equal footing with the rest of the Provinces of the British India.

"Now that your Province is an independent entity the greatest responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Mussalmans of Sind for the welfare and the progress of your Province. Not

long ago the Mussalmans in Sind were divided and torn into groups but today I am happy to find that there is a wonderful public spirit, solidarity and unity demonstrated and with proper organization if you mobilize and harness your powers there is nothing to prevent the Muslim League of your Province from assuming the reins of the Government of your Province. It is in your hands now. You must remember that it is your duty and responsibility which calls upon you to conduct the affairs of the Government of Sind. The constitution enacted by the Government of India Act of 1935, although it incorporates many objectionable features, yet you should utilize it with your majority strength successfully for the economic, social, educational and political uplift of the people of Sind and in particular of the Mussalmans. I feel confident that mainly the Mussalmans of Sind and the right thinking Hindus will realize that the progress and the welfare of the Province lies in maintaining the high principles of justice, fair play and friendly co-operation amongst the people of Sind.

"While speaking in this great city and the capital of Sind, Karachi, with its magnificent position that it occupies, the wonderful seaport, and constituting as it does the first homeland of Mussalmans, it gives me no small pleasure that I should preside over a conference of the kind the like of which has never before taken place in Sind and you can well imagine my surging emotions when I tell you that Karachi is my birthplace and I cannot adequately express how deeply anxious I am for its welfare and how cordially I wish your province to rise to its full stature and play your great and rightful part in the counsels of Muslim India. Mussalmans of Sind have another sacred duty to perform and a far graver task in front of them and it is that aspect which I want to impress upon you. In the All-India Muslim struggle against the various forces which are out to destroy and divide the Mussalmans by means of corruption and dishonest propaganda you have to guard yourself against it and

stand solid behind the All India Muslim League which is the only authoritative and representative organization of the Mussalmans of India. It is an irony of fate that the two provinces for which the All India Muslim League fought successfully that is the Sind and the North West Frontier Province, should remain outside the ken of the All India Muslim League. But I am glad that Sind Mussalmans have now realized. The wonderful rally on their part is a bright sign and new chapter in the History of the All India Muslim League. North West Frontier Province for which the Muslim League fought against every machination including the opposition on the part of the Congress itself against our demand that it should have the constitution and reforms on an equal footing with all the other provinces of the British India should remain, when liberated, under the heel of Wardha.

"But I feel confident that it will not be very long before the Mussalmans of North West Frontier Province will come home on the platform of the All India Muslim League and work as loyaly and faithfully as any Mussalman under the banner and the flag of the All India Muslim League and those who have and are still misleading the Pathans will meet with their 'Nemesis'.

"The struggle that we are carrying on is not merely for loaves and fishes, ministerships and jobs, nor are we opposed to the economic, social and educational uplift of our countrymen as it is falsely alleged. We want to make every contribution to the uplift of our people particularly the Mussalmans. Do not believe when you are told that the policy and programme of the League is reactionary. No honest man who has studied the policy and programme of the League can conscientiously and truthfully say that it is anything but fully national and most progressive. Yet Muslim League and its leaders are daily misrepresented and vilified. Truth is suppressed and falsehood is broadcast in the Congress press and news agencies; of course we having no press. But the greatest misfortune of India is that the High Command

of the Congress has adopted a most brutal, oppressive and inimical attitude towards the All India Muslim League since they secured the majority in the six provinces.

"After they decided to accept office and work the constitution when we were ready and offered our hand of co-operation as we had already made it clear before and after the elections also, the first demand was that the League must liquidate itself and we were told that it represents nobody except few estimable middle class gentlemen. And secondly the decision was taken that we must be treated as an anathema and the League groups in the various legislature were boycotted by the Congress. And the members of the League party in the legislatures were to be treated as untouchables and that no one was to be included in the ministry of those provinces from amongst the representatives of the League party unless they unconditionally signed the pledge, the policy, and the programme of the Congress which honestly speaking is much worse then that of the All India Muslim League and more communal, in a fact, except that we stand for the adequate and effective safeguards for the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and that we do not agree with false creed of 'truth and non-violence' which is observed and honoured more in breach. They were asked to abjure their party and forego their creed, policy and programme which is far more honest and straightforward and practical.

"They started in the legislatures with a song of *Bande Mataram* which is not only idolatrous but in its origin and substance a hymn to spread hatred for the Mussalmans. And they in their wisdom tried and are persisting now and compelling the school authorities to sing *Bande Mataram* at congregations and school gatherings although it is admitted that it is not a national song. They have persistently hoisted tricolour flags in a most aggressive and offensive manner on all Government and public institutions irrespective of the feelings

of others although it is admitted that it is not a national flag. They started 'the Muslim Mass Contact' which is not only silly but dangerous and some wiseacre amongst them think that this will bring about the destruction of the Communal Award or at any rate nullify its object and destroy the true strength of Muslim representation in the various legislature and further thereby force every Muslim to submit to the membership of the Congress. They have been forcing radical changes in the educational system of the Provinces and to run the department on Wardha scheme which has assumed the name of *Vidya Mandir* and make Hindi compulsory in the guise of Hindustani but highly Sanskritised as 'Lingua franca' of India and leave no stone unturned to suppress Urdu which is the language of the largest number of Mussalmans in India and thus give a death blow to their culture and their solidarity.

"Every available post or job is reserved for the Congress men or those Mussalmans who are prepared to desert or vilify the League. The 'Civil Liberties' has assumed new definition. That in the absence of *Swadeshi* Laws, 'lawless and reactionary laws' such as the 'Criminal Law Amendment Act' and 'Section 144' are to be freely utilized against those persons who disobey or differ from the Congress Ministries and particularly in the case of the members of the Muslim League. Measures are brought in, bills have been passed and laws have been enacted which are obviously highly detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans, for instance amendments of the franchise system of voting and representation of minorities in Municipal, Local and District Boards. The Muslim Press is terrorized under threat of penalty of forfeiture of securities and in some cases the obnoxious executive orders have been passed and securities of some Muslim Urdu papers have been forfeited. Is this the national programme that is being pursued for the advancement of the people of this country which will achieve freedom and independence of India? If this is the foretaste on the threshold of

the limited and restricted authority and power enjoyed by the Congress. I shudder to think what would be the fate of ninety millions of Mussalmans in this country if the Congress were incharge of full and plenary powers of the Government of India; and yet the other day the President of the Congress had the temerity in speaking at the Haripura Congress Session in February 1938 to solemnly ask 'I would put it to the members of the minority communities in India to consider dispassionately if they have anything to fear when the Congress programme is put into operation.' So far I have not dealt with the cases of maltreatment and tyranny and persecution regarding which columns and columns have been filled by newspapers – specially in three Provinces of Bihar, U.P. and C.P. and we are awaiting the report of the committee that has been appointed. I hope that the report will be out before the next session of Muslim League in December 1938.

"It is common knowledge that the average Congress man whether he is a member by conviction or 'convenience' arrogates to himself the role of a ruler of this country and although he does not possess the educational qualifications, training and culture and traditions of the British bureaucrat he behaves and acts towards the Mussalmans in a much worse manner than the British did towards Indians. The Supreme Command may well deplore corruption, untruthfulness and violence and may further deplore the faked register of membership of the Congress by 'convenience'.

"These are a few characteristic features of the Congress programme so far regarding the Mussalmans. But we are told very recently in your city by a high authority that surely the fact that the Governors have not yet thought fit to interfere or exercise their special powers is a proof positive and shows that the Mussalmans are not only justly and fairly treated but they are dealt with handsomely and generously. I know that Governors and the Governor-General have failed the minorities

and specially the Mussalmans. But on the other hand, we are told that there is a gentlemen's agreement and a secret understanding between the British Government and the Congress in consequence of which assurances were given that such powers will not be exercised, and so it is obvious that the Congress Ministries are getting the longest rope with the result that the foolish policy of the Congress is responsible not only for intense bitterness between the two sister communities but among the various classes and interests. It has resulted in serious clashes and conflicts and ill will which are bound to recoil in the long run on the progress and welfare of India. It seems that Congress is only tumbling into the hands of those who are looking forward to the creation of a serious situation which will break India vertically and horizontally. But this is not all.

"Now let us turn to Bengal, Punjab and Assam. In these provinces there happens to be a predominant Muslim voice in the Ministries and hence they are made the target and the object of final destruction by the Congress High Command. In Bengal the move to defeat Fazlul Huq Ministry has ignominiously failed. In Punjab various efforts are made to weaken the Ministry of Sir Sikander Hyat. But in Punjab they have not yet dared to table a no-confidence motion because Punjab Ministry cannot yet be bent. In Assam Mr. Saadullah's Ministry resigned. Immediately the Congress President went post-haste with other henchmen and agents to help the birth of a so-called Congress Ministry in utter disregard of all their previous professions and declarations and contrary to their avowed determination to have nothing to do with coalition and he gathered together various groups all and sundry. But in forming the Ministry, Mr. Bordoloi was not able to announce the name of even one of the three Muslims Ministers who were to be included in the Ministry. Apart from the methods adopted further to move the President for adjournment of the Assembly *sine die* was hardly creditable,

and for a great party not to face the legislature knowing full well that they had not the majority at their back was sheer cowardice. It is under threat of suspension of oath taking ceremony that the President and Congress party agreed to the sessions of the Assembly being called at an early date, and up to the present moment Mr. Bordoloi has not been able to get more than one of the three Muslim Ministers, and he is still hunting for the remaining two Muslim Ministers. When 56 members of the Assembly out of 107 are not only against the so-called Congress Ministry but have tabled the vote of no-confidence, I congratulate the President, Mr. Bose, for his statesmanlike achievement for this stillborn child which he is now anxious to feed by means of oxygen and bring it to life by appealing to the European planters to come to his rescue.

"The Congress High Command is obsessed with one idea and determined to divide the Mussalmans and particularly to break the solidarity of the Muslim League no matter how low they may have to stoop. They have no scruples or any standard or principle in their methods. Their policy is based on arrogance and opportunism and unfortunately they are at the present moment getting the support of a large body of Hindus who have respect for the Congress and they are being fully exploited. Not only that but even Mr. Gandhi who has acquired the spiritual influence over a large body of the Hindu public and with his halo of Mahatma is used by those who surround him. He often tries to get out of the awkward corners by falling back upon his inner voice or the voice of silence and relies upon the fact that he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress; and he deplores corruption, untruthfulness and violence and pleads to his utter helplessness for the decisions of Congress High Command. This grand Fascist Council, the Working Committee which is named 'the shadow cabinet' of a parallel Government of India is supposed to speak on behalf of 'the Indian Nation'. Some of its antics remind one of a clown imitating the artist in a circus.

During the critical situation about the end of September last this so-called shadow cabinet continually sat in sessions and kept vigil as the All India Congress committee had entrusted them with a power to take such decisions as they thought proper with regard to the question of India's part in the event of the war breaking out.

"So, to begin with, a sympathetic message was sent by the High Command to the Government of Czechoslovakia and the Mahatma and the Working Committee were continuing the vigil waiting for the Whitehall to approach Mahatma Gandhi. But the war is averted and soon now the vigil will terminate and India must breathe a sign of relief as we are saved from the Congress decision with regard to the war for the moment. So now this is the situation and position that we have to face. It is no use relying upon anyone else. We must stand on our own inherent strength and build up our own power and forge sanctions behind our decisions. Today we are told that even for the purpose of a settlement of Hindu Muslim question we do not represent the Mussalmans of India and we are required to prove the position and status of ours by 'Service and merits' before the mighty High Command. Gentlemen! the meaning is clear. It is no use our blaming others, it is no use our accusing our opponents only, it is no use our expecting our enemies to behave differently. If the Mussalmans are going to be defeated in their national goal and aspirations, it will only be by the betrayal of the Mussalmans among us as it has happened in the past. For the renegades and traitors I have nothing to say. They can do their worst. But I appeal most fervently to those Mussalmans who honestly feel for their community and its welfare and those who are misled or misguided and indifferent to come on to the platform of the Muslim League and work under its flag, and please close your rank and file and stand solid and united at any and all costs and speak and act with one voice.

"Here I wish to make it clear that I am not fighting the

Hindu community as such nor have I any quarrel with the Hindus generally for I have many personal friends amongst them; but the Congress 'High Command' is in my opinion the greatest enemy of India's progress and for the matter of that even of the interests of Hindus. Although there are many Hindus who entirely condemn them and are completely fed up with them yet a large body of the Hindu public is still hypnotised and mesmerized by them by their seductive and abusive propaganda and disingenuous catchwords and slogans. Will they get their freedom of judgement and action!

"With regard to the tragedy of Palestine that is going on at present and the ruthless repression that is practised against the Arab because of their struggle for the freedom of their country, I need hardly tell you that we had most convincing proofs demonstrated all over India that the heart of every Mussalman is with them in their brave and wonderful struggle that they are carrying on against all odds and in spite of their being 'defenceless'. According to the resolution of the All India Muslim League Council, 26th of August was observed all over India as the Palestine Day and from all accounts I can say without exaggeration that thousands and thousands of meetings were held all over India fully and fervently sympathising with those who are fighting for their country's freedom. Mussalmans' heart is wounded and lacerated when they hear the news and the accounts of ruthless and tyrannical oppression and repression of those brave Arabs and I know that the entire Muslim world is watching the doings of Great Britain there.

"I may inform you that the Muslim League Council appointed a special committee at their meeting of the 30th July 1938 to consider the question of sending official deputation abroad specially to Palestine and England and directed the committee to consider the ways and means by which an effective pressure can be brought to bear upon the British Government. And that committee recently met at Badaun and have in

response to the invitation from the Egyptian Parliamentary Committee for the Defence of Palestine chosen five representatives on behalf of the All India Muslim League to attend the Parliamentary Congress of Arabs and Muslim countries which will be held in Cairo starting from the 7th October 1938 with a view to consider the present situation in Palestine. Three of our representatives, Mr. Khaliquzzaman, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Maulana Mazharuddin out of the five appointed have already left India and are on their way to Cairo. Further, according to the instructions of the Egyptian Parliamentary Committee we have notified that if any other member of the Muslim League party in Legislature desires to participate in the Congress the invitation will be issued to him by the Secretary, All India Muslim League. We shall await the results of the deliberations and the decisions of that Congress and then I may assure you that the All India Muslim League will do all that lies in its power to help the cause of the Arabs in Palestine.

"I am glad here to note that Congress Working Committee also at Delhi have passed a resolution. That having regard to its importance it was moved by the chair without any comments. This is an indication of the superficial interest the Congress takes in matters which the Mussalmans consider nearest and dearest to their heart. During the recent times Great Britain has thrown her friends to the wolves and broken her solemn promises. Only those succeed with the British people who possess force and power and who are in a position to bully them. They have also let down and thrown the Mussalmans of India to the wolves. I am sure that there will be no peace in the Near East unless they give an honest and square deal to the Arabs in Palestine.

"In India I may draw the attention of His Majesty's Government and the British statesmen who I am sure are not under any delusion that Congress represents the people of India

or Indian nation, for there are 90 millions of Mussalmans. And I would draw their attention and here also of the Congress High Command and ask them to mark, learn and inwardly digest the recent upheaval and its consequent developments which threatened the world war. It was because the Sudeten Germans who were forced under the heel of the majority of Czechoslovakia who oppressed them, suppressed them, maltreated them and showed a brutal and callous disregard for their rights and interests for two decades hence the inevitable result that the Republic of Czechoslovakia is now broken up and a new map will have to be drawn. Just as the Sudeten Germans were not defenseless and survived the oppression and persecution for two decades so also the Mussalmans are not defenseless and cannot give you their national entity and aspirations in this great continent. Here also I may mention the Frontier policy of the Government of India which the sooner it is given up the better and methods of reconciliation are resorted to instead. I will therefore appeal to the British Government to review and revise their policy with regard to Palestine, Waziristan and Mussalmans of India and the Islamic powers generally. It is in the interest of Great Britain to seriously consider the reorientation in the light of the developments that have taken place during the last two decades.

"To the Mussalmans therefore I say go forward and organize your people all over India and if reasons and arguments fail our ultimate resort must depend upon our own inherent strength and power. I do not despair nor need we fear the consequences in this great struggle of the life and death which involves the destiny of 90 millions of our people."

*The Archives of Freedom Movement, Vol: 242, Document No.9*

## Associated Press Version

(A clarion call to the Mussalmans of India to close their ranks and stand solid and united under the banner of All-India Muslim League at any cost and speak and act with one voice was made by Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address.)

At the outset Mr. Jinnah dwelt at length on the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. He said that the league wanted to make every contribution to the uplift of the Indian people particularly Mussalmans. Their policy and programme was in no way reactionary. On the other hand it was nothing but fully national and most progressive. He regretted that the policy and programme of the League had been daily misrepresented in the Congress Press and that had been vilified by the suppression of truth and by the broadcast of falsehood.

Mr. Jinnah referred to a few characteristic features of the Congress programme so far regarding the Mussalmans. He said "The greatest misfortune of India is that the High Command of the Congress has adopted a most brutal, oppressive and inimical attitude towards the All-India Muslim League since they secured the majority in the six provinces. After they decided to accept office and work the constitution, when we were ready and offered our hand of co-operation as we had already made it clear before and after the elections also, the first demand was that the League must liquidate itself and we were told that it represents nobody except a few estimable middle-class gentlemen. And secondly, the decision was taken that we must be treated as an anathema and the League groups in the various legislatures were boycotted by the Congress.

### More Communal

"No one was to be included in the Ministry of those provinces from amongst the representatives of the League Party unless they unconditionally signed the pledge, the policy and the

programme of the Congress which, honestly speaking is much worse than that of the All-India Muslim League and more communal in fact, except that we stand for adequate and effective safeguards for the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and that we do not agree with the false creed of 'truth and non-violence' which is observed and honoured more in the breach. They were asked to abjure their party and forego their creed, policy and programme which is far more honest and straightforward and practical.

Mr. Jinnah next gave a catalogue of several acts of the Congress which were seriously objected to by the Mussalmans. He first referred to the singing of the *Bande Mataram* song in the Legislatures. "This song", he said, "is not only idolatrous, but in its origin and substance, a hymn to spread hatered for the Mussalmans. Any they in their wisdom tried and are persisting now and compelling the school authorities to sing the song at congregations and school gatherings, although it is admitted that it is not a national song.

"The Congress has persistently hoisted tri-coloured flags in a most aggressive and offensive manner on all Government and public institutions irrespective of the feelings of others, although it is admitted that it is not a national flag.

"They started the Muslim mass contact which is not only silly but dangerous and some wiseacres amongst them think that this will bring about the destruction of the Communal Award or at any rate nullify its objects and destroy the true strength of Muslim representation in the various Legislatures and further thereby force every Muslim to submit to the membership of the Congress.

**Urdu and Hindi**

"They have been forcing radical changes in the educational system of the provinces and trying to run the

departments on the Wardha scheme which has assumed the name of 'Vidya Mandir' and make Hindi compulsory in the name of Hindustani, but highly 'Sanskkritised, as the *lingua franca* of India and leave no stone unturned to suppress Urdu, which is the language of the largest number of the Mussalmans in India and thus give a death blow to their culture and their solidarity.

"Every available post or job is reserved for the Congressmen or those Mussalmans who are prepared to desert or vilify the League. The civil liberties have assumed a new definition. Measures are brought in, Bills have been passed and laws have been enacted which are obviously highly detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans, for instance amendments of the franchise system of voting and the representation of the minorities in Municipal, Local and District Boards. The Muslim Press is terrorised under the threat of penalty of forfeiture of securities and in some cases obnoxious executive orders have been passed and securities of some Muslim Urdu papers have been forfeited.

Mr. Jinnah asked if this was the national programme for the advancement of the people of this country which would achieve the freedom and independence of India. He shuddered to think what would be the fate of nine millions of Mussalman in this country if the Congress were in charge of full and plenary powers of the Government of India.

Mr. Jinnah next referred to the 'maltreatment and tyranny and persecution specially in three provinces, Bihar, the U.P. and the C.P.

He added: "It is common knowledge that the average Congressman whether he is a member by conviction or convenience arrogates to himself the role of a ruler of this country and although he does not possess the educational qualifications, training and culture and traditions of the British

bureaucrat, be behaves and acts towards the Mussalmans in a much worse manner than the British did towards Indians.

**Minorities Let Down**

"I know that Governors and the Governor-General have failed the minorities and specially the Mussalmans, but on the other hand we are told that there is a gentlemen's agreement and a secret understanding between the British Government and the Congress in consequence of which assurances were given that the special powers will not be exercised and so it is obvious that the Congress Ministries are getting the longest rope.

Mr. Jinnah severely criticised the Congress High Command for dabbling with the Governments of Bengal, Assam and the Punjab and said that this has resulted in serious clashes and conflicts and ill-will, which were bound to recoil to the long run on the progress and welfare of India. "The Congress High Command is obsessed with one idea and is determined to divide the Mussalmans and particularly to break the solidarity of the Muslim League, no matter how low they may have to stoop. They have no scruples or any standard or principle in their methods. Their policy is based on arrogance and opportunism and unfortunately they are at the present moment getting the support of a large body of Hindus who have respect for the Congress and they are being fully exploited.

The Grand Fascist Council - the Working Committee of the Congress is named the Shadow Cabinet of a parallel Government of India and it is supposed to speak on behalf of the Indian nation. Some of its antics remind one of a clown imitating the artist in a circus.

**Others Not To Blame**

It is no use our blaming others. It is no use our accusing our opponents only. It is no use our expecting our enemies to

behave differently. If the Mussalmans are going to be defeated in their national goal and aspirations it will only be by the betrayal of the Mussalmans among us as it has happened in the past. For the renegades and traitors I have nothing to say. They can do their worst. But I appeal most fervently to those Mussalmans who honestly feel for their community and its welfare and those who are misled or misguided and indifferent to come on to the platform of the Muslim League and work under its flag and speak and act with one voice."

Mr. Jinnah said that he was not fighting the Hindu community as such nor had he any quarrel with the Hindus generally, for he had many personal friends amongst them; but the Congress High Command was in his opinion the greatest enemy of India's progress and for the matter of that even of the interests of Hindus, a large body of whom was still hypnotised and mesmerised by them by their seductive and abusive propaganda and disingenious catchwords and slogans.

Mr. Jinnah also referred to the "ruthless repression that is practised against the Arabs in Palestine" and said that the entire Muslim world was watching the doings of Great Britain in Palestine. "We shall await the results of the deliberations and decisions of the Cairo Congress and the All-India Muslim League will do all that lies in its power to help the cause of the Arabs in Palestine. I am glad here to note that the Congress Working Committee also at Delhi have passed a resolution. There will be no peace in the Near East unless Great Britain gives an honest and square deal to the Arabs in Palestine."

**The Czech Example**

Mr. Jinnah drew the attention of Great Britain and also the Congress High Command and asked them to mark, learn and inwardly digest the recent upheaval and its consequent developments which threatened the world war. It was because of the Sudeten Germans who were forced under the heel of the

majority of Czechoslovakia, who oppressed them, suppressed them, maltreated them and showed a brutal and callous disregard of their rights and interests for two decades. Hence the inevitable result that the Republic of Czechoslovakia was now broken up and a new map would have to be drawn.

"Just as the Sudeten Germans were not defenceless and survived the oppression and persecution for two decades, so also the Mussalmans are not defenceless and cannot give up their national entity and aspirations in this great Continent. I will, therefore, appeal to the British Government to review and revise their policy with regard to Palestine, Wazirstan and the Mussalmans of India and the Islamic Powers generally. To the Mussalmans I say, go forward and organise your people all over India and if reason and arguments fail our ultimate resort must depend upon our own inherent strength and power. I do not despair nor need we fear the consequences in this great struggle of life and death which involves the destiny of 90 millions of our people." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, October 9, 1938.*

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## 235

### Address to the Muslim Students Conference, Karachi, October, 11, 1938

"Hindus will always prevent you from receiving education. They will never allow you to progress. Therefore you have to help yourselves", observed Mr. M.A. Jinnah addressing the Muslim Students Conference held under the Presidency of the Raja of Mahmudabad.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that statistics revealed a sorrowful picture regarding education and exhorted the students

to make real and sincere efforts to regain what they had lost. It was high time that they should work for Islam and the economic, educational and industrial uplift of their land.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah declared: "Muslims have no home and no place to call their own and the Muslim League has created a home for them and a platform for you. Rally round this flag and believe me you will come into your own sooner than you imagine."(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, October 12, 1938.*

**Another version:**

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah recalled that 28 years ago when he was a member of the Imperial Council, a Sindhi came to him and asked him for advice as to how Sindhis could prosper. He said that there were only three things which a Muslim should acquire — education, commerce and industry and ammunition.

He threw the blame on parents. He said that parents were responsible for the high percentage of illiteracy of Muslims. He added that it was discouraging to find such a low figure and quoted the number of Muslims in all stages of education — primary, secondary and higher — and the education of girls. He advised them to follow the motto "Self help is the best help," as Britishers would not like the people of this country to be literate and as their sister community, the Hindus, would not like Muslims educated as they (the Hindus) would be deprived of services, government as well as private, as they had been holding a monopoly for all these years. He appealed to the Muslims to organise education on a mass scale.

After acquiring education, the Muslims should organise the economic side. They must start industries and business

houses, added Mr. Jinnah. The third thing was the acquisition of power that is swords. When success was achieved in business they would get "silver bullets" with which they would realise gold and would be able to get "golden canon balls". This would pave the way for power.

At the end Mr. Jinnah appealed to the students to organise themselves.

*The Star of India, October 19, 1938.*

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## 236

### Statement regarding settlement on the formation of Sind Ministry, Karachi, October 12, 1938

Mr. Jinnah told the waiting journalists that no settlement had been arrived at and he was issuing a statement tomorrow morning. Pressed to give some particulars of the meeting. Mr. Jinnah firstly refused adding "You will hear the full story of the treachery tomorrow."

*The Star of India, October 13, 1938.*

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## 237

### Statement regarding Muslim members of the Assembly joining Muslim League, Karachi, October 12, 1938

Mr. M.A. Jinnah made an announcement tonight in the Provincial Muslim League Conference declaring: "I met the Muslim members of the Assembly and had nearly ten hours' discussion with them. As an outcome, 27 members out of 35

have joined the All India Muslim League and signed the League pledge and accepted its programme and policy. The remaining seven, excluding one Congress have not decided what they should do. I cannot tell more as I am issuing a statement tomorrow. I hope that in the interests of Muslim solidarity and welfare these seven members will still realise the wisdom of joining the Muslim League and after a sleep tonight a better sense will prevail tomorrow morning." (U.P.)

*The Tribune, October 13, 1938*

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## 238

### Concluding address to the Muslim League Conference, Karachi, October 12, 1938.

**Mad Idealism**

"The Congress, with seven provinces, wants to dominate Muslims. They want to impose Hindu Raj, culture and philosophy. It is against that mad idealism that I have rebelled since April, 1936," declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah in his concluding address to the Muslim League Conference.

Mr. Jinnah added: "I have made it clear that as long as there is life in me, I will never allow the Congress to do this. As long as the Congress does not come to us as equals, there can be no peace in this land. It is a matter of life and death for Muslims. If you Muslims still do not see danger, I now give you the alarm. One thing about the Muslims is that they are more politically minded and have more practical commonsense. They are brave and fearless. Believe me, if only we go about seriously organising ourselves, there can be no organisation to stand up against us".

*The Civil & Military Gazette, October 14, 1938.*

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## 239

### Statement on withdrawal from agreement in Sind, Karachi, October 13, 1938.

"On my arrival on the 7th October, 1938, it was made clear to me that there was a universal desire for solidarity and unity among the Muslims in Sind. Wherever I went and whoever came to see me expressed most fervently the desire to bring about unity. I saw various Muslim leaders and no less than 20 Muslim members of the Sind Legislative Assembly and that was the prevalent sentiment not only among the Muslims but also among the thinking men of the communities — Hindus, Parsis and Europeans. They all desired that there should be a stable government in Sind. Here I may at the very outset deprecate the false and discreditable propaganda carried on by a section of the press and the Congressmen that we were aiming at constituting a purely Muslim ministry in Sind. In the first instance we thought of bringing about unity among various Muslim groups in the Assembly as there were at least four such groups among the Muslim members of the Assembly, and once we were able to put our house in order we could approach other groups in the Sind Assembly.

**Desire For Unity**

In response to that universal desire, I carried on my conversation with Khan Bahadur Allah Bux who also had come to see me, and his colleague Pir Illahi Bux. He also endorsed the view that there should be one solid united Muslim party and most cordially assured me that he desired nothing else if that could be achieved and that he did not wish to continue as Chief Minister or cared for any office at all. Similar views were expressed by his colleague, Pir Illahi Bux, and I gathered that there were about 7 members with the Chief Minister and his colleague.

Therefore I saw Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and he also expressed the same views and assured me his full support. His group consisted of about thirteen members. Next I saw Mr. Bundeh Ali, the leader of the Baluch group, which consists of about seven members with the Chief Minister and his colleagues, and last I saw Mr. G.M. Syed who has a following as I understood of six members. They also expressed the same desire and assured me of their fullest support. Therefore I suggested to each one of them that they should all meet together and that Mr. Fazlul-Haq and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan with whom they also had interviews should also be present and accordingly the Bengal and Punjab Premiers and myself met the leaders of all the four groups in the afternoon of October 9, and after prolonged discussion and exchange of views the following agreement was arrived at and signed by Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, Pir Illahi Bux, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mir Bundeh Ali, Mr. G.M. Syed and Mr. Abdul Majid.

**Terms Of Agreement**

The terms of agreement were as follows:

1. It was agreed that one solid party of the Muslim members of the Sind Legislative Assembly should be formed as Muslim League Party, within the legislature, and all the members who join the party will become members of the Muslim League and sign the creed and accept the policy and programme of the Muslim League and would sign the usual pledge of the Muslim League.

2. That in order to facilitate the formation of the new ministry the present Muslim ministers have agreed to tender their resignations and these resignations will be tendered to the Governor simultaneously with the proposal of the leader of Muslim League Party to constitute a new Ministry.

3. That the meeting of those members who have already

joined the Muslim League or who may agree to join the Muslim League Party should take place on October 12, 1938, at 11 a.m. in my room and those members who are not in Karachi at present be requested to come down here — there being already 27 members present in the city.

4. That Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Sir Ghulam Hussain were to intimate those Muslim members who were not in Karachi already and ask them to attend the meeting fixed for October 12.

5. That the leader of the party should be elected by the unanimous vote of the party and in default he should be nominated by Mr. Jinnah and the party would abide by his choice.

6. The personnel of the Ministry to be formed shall be determined according to the same principle, namely, that the party should accept it unanimously; in default the party should abide by the decision of Mr. Jinnah as to the Muslim personnel of the Ministry that the leader should submit to the Governor.

7. That with regard to the differences of opinion relating to the question of assessment and revision of settlement within the Barrage area the matter be referred to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to examine the question and advise the party as to the course and attitude that the Muslim League Party should adopt in this regard and that the proposal will be placed before the meeting of the party on October 12, 1938, namely, that the party would accept the findings and recommendations that may be made by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

**Telegrams Under Joint Signatures**

In accordance with the agreement telegrams were sent to those members who were not in Karachi over the joint signatures of Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Sir Ghulam Hussain requesting them to attend the meeting fixed for October 12,

1938, in my room.

**Congress Party's Move**

I received information early in the morning from a responsible and reliable source that the "leader of the Congress Assembly Board had wired to the President of the Congress Parliamentary Party that in view of the danger of a League Ministry being formed in Sind, the no-confidence motion should be permitted not to be made a party question and freedom of voting be permitted to the members of the party. If this were done, of course all the ten members of the Congress Party would vote against the no-confidence motion. Mr. Vallabhai Patel has sent out telegrams to the members of his board soliciting their views...

"I am aware of the contents of the documents in your possession signed by the six gentlemen on Sunday evening (9th October, 1936) but I thought you might know about this new move. Any attempt to gain time to-day may therefore not be permitted."

**Premier Backs Out Of Agreement**

When we met at 11 o'clock on 12th October 1938, much to the astonishment of every one, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux backed out of the agreement and took an unabashed position that he and his supporters would join the Muslim League Party only if he is assured beforehand that the party will agree to elect him as the leader and allow him to continue as the Chief Minister!

**Premier Holding A Pistol**

An overwhelming majority of the members present in the meeting objected to this attitude on the ground that it was contrary to the very conception of the formation of a party that any individual member of any group should hold a pistol and impose a condition precedent to joining the party. Every effort

was made to persuade Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and 6 or 7 members who were inclined to support him, and finally he left the meeting after several hours of discussion in the meeting and separately by various members who tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to give up such attitude and abide by the agreement which he had already signed. In the meantime those who were inclined to join the Muslim League Party signed the pledges and handed them over to me accepting the creed, policy and programme of the Muslim League. As a result 27 members have come under the banner of the Muslim League. But Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was adamant and left with an ultimatum that unless his condition that he should be accepted as a leader and allowed to continue as Chief Minister is agreed to, he was not prepared to proceed any further. On his taking up this extraordinary attitude some of his own supporters also signed the pledge and remained in the meeting.

**Gross Breach Of Faith**

Those members who were present at the meeting considered that the attitude of Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was most improper and unjust, and that he was guilty of gross breach of faith in resiling from the agreement which he had already signed in the presence of Sir Sikander, Mr. Fazlul-Haq and myself. Nevertheless without hesitation, as the words of my address to the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference "unity at any cost" were fresh and ringing in their minds, they showed wonderful spirit of sacrifice and rose to the occasion and agreed to accept even this unreasonable condition in the hope that Khan Bahadur Allah Bux would be prepared to come in and work whole-heartedly under the banner of the Muslim League. But when this decision of twenty-seven members was communicated to him at about 8 p.m. by Sir Abdullah Haroon and others, although he had promised to come to the meeting immediately if his condition was accepted, he replied that he would consider the matter and let us know "tomorrow morning"

(13th Oct.).

**Playing Into Other Hands**

In the meantime it is now public property and the newspaper reports clearly show that Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was in the hands of the Congress Party and was making time to receive the instructions of the Congress High Command.

I regret to say that he had not even the courtesy to give me his promised reply this morning, although I waited the whole day before issuing this statement.

**Sacrificing People's Interests**

One can only draw the inference that he has been assured by the Congress High Command who seem to me to be obsessed with one and the only idea of destroying any effort which will bring solidarity among the Muslims at the sacrifice of not only the vital interest of the country at large but also Sind where it is essential to have a stable ministry for the welfare and the progress of the people; and they do not seem to hesitate to sacrifice all their principles, their interests, their professions and the interests of the people which they claim so loudly to serve.

So far as we are concerned I am glad that we have formed a Muslim League Party in the Assembly and we shall carry out our programme for the social, economic, educational and political uplift of the people of Sind generally and of Mussalmans in particular. Our party in the Assembly will always be willing and ready to co-operate with any party or group notwithstanding the Muslim majority — for the advancement and welfare of the people of Sind, but we cannot accept the position of subordination as Khan Bahadur Allah Bux has chosen to do.

*The Civil & Military Gazette. October 14, 1938*

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## 240

### Speech at a Public Meeting, Jacobabad, October 17, 1938.

*Mr. M. A. Jinnah accompanied by Raja of Mahmudabad, Sir Abdulla Haroon, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Mr. M.H. Gazdar and Mr. Rashdi reached Jacobabad.*

*Mr. Jinnah held a conference with local Sardars. He addressed a public meeting at Idgah maidan where arrangement had been made for loudspeakers.*

Mr. Jinnah explained the League policy and programme and exhorted the people to join the League. (F.O.C.)

(Full text of the speech not available)

*The Sind Observer, October 19, 1938.*

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## 241

### Speech at a Public Meeting, Shikarpur (Sind), October 17, 1938.

*Mr. Jinnah was accorded a hearty reception on his visit to Shikarpur.*

*Thousands of people came to receive the party at the station and took the guests in procession preceeded by bands.*

*Mr. Jinnah addressed a public meeting at Jumani Hall attended over by 3,000 people.*

During his speech he said it is no use complaining about others when we have not brought unity amongst ourselves. Twenty-seven members have joined the Muslim League and seven are still outside." It is in your hands to make the Ministry.

The Allahbux ministry is reigning with Hindu support but if there is unity among the Muslims they can compel him to resign in case he does not join the League."

Mr. Jinnah in concluding his speech advised the Muslims to join the League. (F.O.C.)

*The Daily Gazette, October 18, 1938 &*
*The Sind Observer, October 19, 1938.*

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## 242

### Speech in reply to the Addresses of Welcome presented to him by the Local Board and the Municipality, Larkana, October 18, 1938.

*Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah accompanied by Sir Abdullah Haroon, Sheikh Abdul Majid and Mr. M.H. Gazdar arrived at Larkana. On his arrival he was presented a guard of honour by scouts and khaksars' salami. Abut 5,000 persons were present, Mr. Jinnah drove in procession to the Local Board Office to receive addresses of the Local Board and the Municipality. The municipal address was read out and presented by Mr. Partrabrai, vice-president while the Local Board was presented by the President, Sardar Nabibux Bhutto. It was enclosed in a silver casket. A welcome song was sung by a Madressa student before the function began. Mr. Jinnah made a joint reply to both the addresses in English. In the course of his reply he thanked the institutions for the honour done to him.*

He said that Larkana was a famous city about which he heard when he was a child, being born at Karachi. He had the good fortune of seeing that city. He was praised because the members were pleased with him, but there was yet much to be done. He observed that he would bring no difficulty in the way of uniting the Hindus and Muslims. He was a champion of the

minority nation not because he was a Muslim but because he believed that minority community should have an equal and proper share in the Government of a country. (F.O.C.)

*The Daily Gazette, October 20, 1938.*

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## 243

### Speech at a Public Meeting, Larkana, October 18, 1938.

*At night, a huge public meeting attended by 10,000 persons was held at Tank Maidan, where speeches were broadcast by loudspeakers. Many Muslims from muffosil (Larkana and Dadu districts) had come to see Mr. Jinnah.*

Mr. Jinnah addressed the meeting. They explained the need of having the Muslim League Party in Sind and the necessity of unity among the Muslims and proper organisation. (F.O.C.)

*(Full text of the speech not available)*

*The Daily Gazette, October 20, 1938.*

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## 244

### Interview to the Associated Press on Social Boycott of Ministers in Sind, Karachi, October 20, 1938.

"It is absolutely untrue that the Muslim League will pursue any other course except constitutional methods. No individual or, for the matter of that the District League or the Provincial League can depart from the All-India policy of

constitutional methods. That is the League's definite policy and it can only be changed by the decision of the full session of the All-India Muslim League. Therefore, I appeal to every Muslim to be loyal to the policy and programme of the League as it stands to-day," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in the course of an interview to the Associated Press, referring to reports of the threats of social boycott of Ministers.

Giving impressions of his Sind tour, Mr. Jinnah observed that there had been a wonderful awakening among the Muslims of Sind. Mr. Jinnah had no doubt that within a short time the League would be organised in such a manner that those who were now trying to put difficulties in its way would regret it.

"As I said before, I do not attach any importance to the formation of Ministries as an acid test in our struggle. The main purpose for which I came to Sind is to organise the Muslims under the banner of the League throughout Sind. My mission has succeeded beyond my expectations and I see a bright future for Sind Muslims."

Questioned about Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's statement on the Sind Ministerial tangle, Mr. Jinnah said that in his view Maulana Azad never counted with the Hindus and certainly not with the Muslims. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, October 22, 1938.*

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## 245

### Statement on Muslim League's claim in reply to a statement of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Karachi, October 20, 1938.

"To say that the Congress is ready and willing to

negotiate a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question with the Muslim League in one breath and in another to say that the Muslim League is not a representative organisation of the Muslims is so transparently ridiculous, and yet the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, arrogates to himself, on behalf of the Congress, the right to say that Congress is the one organisation not only able to deliver goods but also to discuss with the British Government a final solution of the Indian problem.

**Charge Against Subhas**

"Mr. Bose has magnanimously assured the minorities that while refusing to acknowledge the Muslim League as the one representative political organisation of the Muslims the Congress would do what was fair and just towards all minorities. Mr. Bose clearly, consciously or unconsciously identified himself with the majority community by making such a declaration. I congratulate Mr. Bose for having said that, because that is the honest and true position.

"The Congress did not represent Muslims and Congress alone could not deliver the goods. As long as this foolish policy was pursued, India could not advance.

**Absurdities Of Position**

As far as the Muslim League was concerned, its policy was laid down by the Executive Council at Karachi and he did not wish to enter into any wordy warfare with Mr. Bose in this connection, as the matter now rested with the executives of both organisations. But he must say this much that the absurdities of the position as explained by Mr. Bose on behalf of the Congress are manifest to any man who possess any intelligence. Mr. Jinnah characterised the interview attributed to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, suggesting that Sir Sikander held a different view from that of the reply sent by the League's Executive Council to

Mr. Bose as absolutely untrue, adding that the League's reply to the Congress was adopted unanimously by the Executive Council, Sir Sikander taking a very prominent part in the wording of the reply.

Mr. Jinnah could not believe that between Karachi and Lahore Sir Sikander should have changed his mind as was attributed to him. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, October 22, 1938.*

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## 246

### Statement on the Palestine problem, Bombay, November 10, 1938

The view that Muslims of India are solidly behind the struggle which the Arabs are carrying on in Palestine for their freedom was expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League. Commenting on the declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government on the Palestine problem, Mr. Jinnah said:

"I feel that Arab leaders of Palestine and the neighbouring States will be far more competent to deal with the matter than any Indian can from this distance, as they not only are fully competent but also understand the situation on the spot better. I would not, therefore, at this stage venture to make any suggestion of a concrete nature, but would like to make it clear that Muslims of India are solidly behind the struggle which the Arabs are carrying on for their freedom. Their feelings and sentiments have been repeatedly presented to the British Government.

**Muslim Resentment**

"Only in September last, in a long interview with His Excellency the Viceroy, I conveyed to him and the Government of India the intensity of the feeling in India on this matter. It has been the greatest difficulty with us during the last few months to restraint and to hold the Muslims of India from openly revolting. The way in which the British Government have hitherto dealt with the Arabs is the greatest blot on their national honour. I trust that the British nation and His Majesty's Government will make the fullest amends for their past mistakes before it is too late and not take shelter under the plea of that most unjust Balfour Declaration, which never ought to have been made, and further under the plea of appeasing international jewry.

"In my opinion Great Britain should never have broken her plighted word with the Arabs and should have given them their promised independence long ago. Further it was a most cruel thing that they should have tried to dump Jews on Palestine at the bidding of foreign nations influenced by the Jews and thus created a most pitiable situation for the Jews themselves who went to the land of the Arabs and settled there under the plea of their so-called national home.

"I can only strike a note of caution to the Arab leaders if they decide to participate in the proposed Round Table Conference, that they send representatives of their own choice, commanding the confidence and the respect of the Arabs and see that the conference does not turn out to be the story of the 'monkey doing justice between the two quarrelling cats'." (A.P.I.)

*QAP-F-10/p.66 &*
*The Star of India, November 12, 1938*

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## 247

### Statement condoling the death of Kemal Attaturk, Bombay, November 11, 1938.

He (Kemal Attaturk) was the greatest Mussalman in the modern Islamic world and I am sure that the entire Mussalman world will deeply mourn his passing away.

It is impossible to express adequately in a press interview one's appreciation of his remarkable and varied services, as the builder and the maker of modern Turkey and an example to the rest of the world, especially to the Mussalman States in the Far East. The remarkable way in which he rescued and built up his people against all odds has no parallel in the history of the world.

He must have derived the greatest sense of satisfaction that he fully accomplished his mission during his life-time and left his people and his country consolidated, united and a powerful nation. In him, not only the Mussalmans, but the whole world, have lost one of the greatest men that ever lived.

*QAP-File-1247/5 and*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, November 12, 1938.*

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## 248

### Appeal to observe November 18, as Kemal Day, Bombay, November 11, 1938

I request Provincial, District and Primary Muslim Leagues, all over India, to observe Friday, the 18th of November, as Kemal Day and hold public meetings to express deepest feelings of sorrow and sympathy of Mussalmans of India in the irreparable loss that the Turkish Nation has suffered in the passing away of one of the greatest sons of Islam and a world figure and the saviour and maker of Modern Turkey – Ghazi

Kamal Ataturk.

*QAP-File-1022/6*

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## 249

### Message to the Editor, "The Star of India" (Calcutta) Bombay, November 13, 1938

I have learnt with much pleasure that the *Star of India* is preparing to bring out a special Id supplement. Let me wish you every success. Your paper has rendered the greatest service to the All India Muslim League not only in Bengal but in other Provinces for which I publicly thank you. In my opinion every educated Mussalman who has the welfare of his community at heart should subscribe to your paper as it not only gives the Muslim news of various provinces but in some of your leaders you have advocated and championed the cause of the Mussalmans and upheld the policy and programme of the League in a masterly manner. I wish the *Star of India* long life and prosperity.

*The Star of India, November 22, 1938*

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## 250

### Statement in reply to the statement made by Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim, New Delhi, November 22, 1938

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, in a statement to the Associated Press says:

"My attention has been drawn to the following statement made by the Hon'ble Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly on November 16:

'Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the Muslim League leader, had made it clear in the Central Assembly that personal law had nothing to do with agricultural law.'

"This statement is entirely without foundation and one would expect from an Hon'ble Minister holding a responsible position to have at least verified from some authentic source before he had attributed such an expression of opinion to me and might have given reference as to the occasion and date when I made such a statement. I presume that he must have in his mind the speech I made in the Legislative Assembly during the passage of the Bill relating to Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Bill. What I said then was just the contrary to what has now been attributed to me by Hafiz Sahib. I then said: We have saved agricultural law because I find that under the Government of India Act, it is a provincial subject and therefore it cannot be dealt with here. My ambition is very limited. I do not believe in visionary ideas. I do not believe in dreaming of things. To make one territorial law for the whole of India will take a very long time indeed. I cannot wait till then. But I find and I have no hesitation in saying this that Islamic code of law with regard to succession is most equitable, most just, most advanced and most progressive. I therefore, say that let the Muslims at least be governed by it." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, November 23, 1938*

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## 251

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly condoling the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali, New Delhi, November 28, 1938.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Leader of the Muslim League Party): "Sir, my very close and intimate association with

Maulana Shaukat Ali naturally affects me personally very deeply. He was a friend of mine and we knew each other now for more than 25 years. His sudden and unexpected death has given a blow over which I personally find it very difficult to get over, a blow to the Mussalmans of India and, if I may say so, to the people of India. Maulana Shaukat Ali worked courageously and honestly, and he was a great fighter. He, by his actions demonstrated that no sacrifice was too great in the service of his community and his country. He was a lovable nature, full of affection, large-hearted, and he bore no malice towards any one. Sir, it is very difficult to express adequately, what one feels for a man like that. But I am sure I am not exaggerating when I say that in him I personally have lost a dear friend and a colleague and a staunch and loyal co-worker. In him the All-India Muslim League has lost one of the strongest pillars of that organisation. In him India has lost a great big man and a great soul. Sir, the loss is irreparable and I wish and pray that his soul may reset in peace. His is an example of service, not only to his own community, but to the country, for which it is difficult to find a parallel. I hope that you will convey to his family our deepest sense of sorrow and sympathy for the loss that they, who are directly connected with him, have suffered and the country at large deeply mourns his death."

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1938, Vol. VII, p. 3454.*

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## 252

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill", New Delhi, December 12, 1938.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** (Member for Commerce and Labour): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, for a certain purpose, be taken into consideration."

.....

**Sardar Mangal Singh**:..... I appeal to the House to reject the amendment and pass this Bill as it was originally introduced by the Government.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I do not quite appreciate the position that the Commerce Member took up. I only want to know for information. May I know that he does not want to make any alteration in this Bill but that under the executive powers he proposes that any wheat that may arrive by the end of December should be exempted from this duty? Is that the position?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: The position is this. Of course that amendment could be put into the Bill. It can now be proposed and the views of the House taken on it.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: What is the Government position?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: I am coming to that. When this matter was discussed with these deputationists and others, I ascertained what the actual position was, and I thought that it might be possible to afford some relief.....

.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Sir, I wish to intervene at this early stage as the position has been made very clear by the Honourable the Commerce Member. Speaking on behalf of my Party, and I believe others will also agree with me, I can say that we are very grateful to him and to the Government of India, if I understood him rightly, that although this Bill may be passed and although they have got the power to deal with certain hard

cases, exemptions and so on, they do not propose to do so unless the House approves of it. That is what I understood. Having understood that correctly, I say that we are very grateful to him, because the Government have already got the powers. Unless we take away those powers, they can exercise them. As I said, I appreciate that very much indeed.

Now, the question is this: Should the Government exercise their powers in case the wheat arrives in this country by the end of December? The Honourable the Commerce Member gave his reasons. The first reason, as I understood, was that some of those businessmen who have entered into forward contracts did not expect any legislative measure being introduced until the next Budget Session. The second reason was that they were not aware of the special Session. Now, Sir, I believe these are the two grounds which he mentioned and these are the two grounds upon which it is suggested that it will be a great hardship on those who have entered into forward contracts. Now, I must ask the Honourable the Commerce Member, is there any substance in any of those two grounds?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: Those are not the only grounds. The real ground is that they cannot now divert such consignments as are already afloat. They may be able to take action with regard to such as have not already left the ports in Australia.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Surely, that is not the test, whether they can divert the consignments or not. Is that the test? If that was the test, then the Government, whenever they undertook any measure of this character, will have to give a sufficiently long notice to the businessmen of this country, which is opposed to the very fundamental principle of Section 10 of the Tariff Act.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: Exemption was given in respect of all forward contracts in 1931.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I know it perfectly well. If the Honourable Member really wants to put forward any argument, and if there is any substance in it, I am quite prepared to consider it. But it is not enough to say that you did it in 1931. I do not know what the circumstances were at that time. Ordinarily, it is against the basic principle of a tariff imposition that the business people should be given notice. In 1931, it may be that the Government were advised for special reasons or for some special grounds to do so. Surely, if the Government did it once, it cannot become a permanent rule and that everything they should do it. As the Honourable Member, Sardar Mangal Singh, pointed out, this is not a fresh question. This is not a new question which has been sprung up suddenly. You know perfectly well the depression in the wheat market. You know perfectly well how serious it is. Otherwise you would not have brought forward this Bill. This has been going on for a long time. Every merchant and every businessman was aware of it, namely, that this measure may come at any moment, and it was their business to protect themselves if they wanted to, by stipulating a term in their contract, the option to pay the duty in the event of the duty being imposed. Surely, there is no substance in either of those three grounds. I do not think the businessmen are so stupid as all that: that they did not know it was possible to bring in this measure before the Budget Session, that they were not aware of the Special Session. In fact, this special session was talked of so long ago as last March. We appointed a Select Committee on the Income-tax Bill, and it was directed to submit its report by a particular date, and it was announced that this special Session will take place in November. So, that is not real ground for exemption. The other ground, that you did it in 1931 and so you must do it again every time, is not also a proper ground. Therefore, I do appeal to the Government – the Government have done the right thing and I appreciate it – to reconsider their views. I appreciate they have left it to the House whether they should do it or not. They are prepared to abide by

the approval or disapproval of the House. As far as I can gather from the trend of the discussion here, I think the House entirely disapprove of any such consideration being given to forward contracts. The question now, is how to determine that disapproval.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: I submit that the best way of determining this will be for us to move an amendment embodying the exemption that I said I am prepared to accept.

**An Honourable Member**: Do you say that you will drop this Bill if your proposal is not accepted?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: I am not dropping the Bill at all, not only am I not dropping the Bill, but I feel having said that I am prepared to make that exemption. I am in honour bound to support that amendment.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I appreciate that. The House will have an opportunity of recording its decision on it.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: I quite realise the embarrassing position in which I may be placed if I have made that proposal to take action on the executive side and the House disapproves of it and there is no means open to the House to secure that the exemption will not be given effect to. I think the fairest way to settle this question is to put forward an amendment so that the House might vote on it.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That is the best way. But there is one difficulty. It has got to be circulated to all Honourable Members. If all Honourable Members agree, the amendment can be taken up at once. There is another difficulty. The Chair is reminded that the Honourable Member himself will not be able to move it, because he has sponsored the Bill.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I have not yet finished. In that case,

the House cannot complete the consideration of the Bill today.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It has got to be circulated to all Honourable Members.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am only pointing out the difficulty in case you want to finish the Bill today and if you are going to adopt the course suggested by the Commerce Member. The amendment has to be given notice of by somebody and you cannot finish the Bill today. That is all I have to say.

**Mr. F. E. James** (Madras: European): May I point out to my Honourable friend that there is actually an amendment already on the Order Paper, it is No.3 in the name of Mr. Aikman and others. It embodies in the Bill the proposition which the Honourable the Commerce Member has put forward.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I see that there is already an amendment. If the Honourable the Commerce Member will make that as the test of approval or disapproval of this House and abide by the decision of the House thereon, I am quite willing.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: I am prepared to abide by it. Only this amendment gives a little more than what I proposed. I have, however, no objection to that. The views of the House can be tested on that.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: In that case, I have nothing more to say. That will be the test. I quite see that it gives more, but that will be the test which will guide the action of the Government of India. I have nothing more to say.

. . . . .

**Mr. President**: (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The alternation they propose is: "The duties of customs imposed by or under this Act on wheat and wheat flour shall not be levied and collected on any consignment of wheat or wheat flour

carried on any ship entered inwards at the port of landing in British India before the 31st of December, 1938."

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: That meets the first objection, it brings the amendment much closer to the exemption that I had proposed.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: What else did you propose?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: I also proposed that the shipment should not only arrive before the 31st day of December, but it must have been made in pursuance of a contract settle before the 7th December, and should also have been intended for India. The amendment does not deal with diversions, but that is a comparatively small matter. It is, therefore, sufficient if the House were to record its verdict on it.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:"

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol: II, p. 2585, Vol: VIII, pp. 4400, 4402-4, 4409.*

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## 253

### Statement releasing his correspondence with the Defence Secretary, New Delhi, December 14, 1938

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has released the correspondence which passed between him and the Defence Secretary on the

personnel and terms of reference of the Indian Sandhurst Committee.

*Letter from the Defence Secretary dated New Delhi, December 6:*

'My dear Mr. Jinnah, I am desired to ask whether you will consent to serve on the committee to be appointed as a result of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on Friday, the 2nd September 1938, on the subject of implementing the recommendation of the Skeen Committee's report that the progress of the Indianisation of the Indian Army should be reviewed in 1938 with a view to determining whether or not acceleration is possible. The terms of reference are as follows: To examine the progress of the Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian Army with a view to determining whether the results achieved justify acceleration and if not, to recommend such alterations in the system of recruitment to the Indian Military Academy as may be expected to lead to an improvement in the number of suitable candidates.

'I am also to say that the committee hope to secure the services of Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, a member of your party in the Assembly who served on the Skeen Committee. The other members whom it is proposed to invite are: Brigadier R.D. Inskip, C.I.E., D.S.O., M.C.; the Hon'ble Pandit H.N. Kunzru, M.C.S.; Mr. Asaf Ali, M.L.A.; Mr. Subbaroyan, M.L.A.; Sir Jogendra Singh; Lieut.-Col. M. A. Rahman, M.L.A.; Capt Sardar Bahadur Dalpat Singh, M.L.A; Capt. Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan, C.I.E., M.B.E., M.L.A., Mr. P.R. Damzen, M.L.A.; Dr. B.S. Moonje and a representative of the Education, Health and Lands Department and the Secretary, Defence Department.

'The committee will begin its session on Monday, the 16th January, 1939, and will be presided over by Lieut-General Sir R. Wilson, Adjutant-General in India. As far as can be

estimated at present, the session will last for about three weeks. Hoping that you will be able to find time to accept.'

*Mr. Jinnah's reply dated December 14, 1938, was as follows:*

"Dear Mr. Ogilvie, I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th December, 1938, and I have consulted my party, the Muslim League, and beg to inform you that we are not satisfied with the terms of reference nor with the proposed personnel and therefore I regret to say that I cannot consent to serve on the proposed Committee." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 16, 1938.*

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## 254

### Statement regarding the Federal Scheme, Bombay, December 21, 1938.

"The reply of the Under-Secretary of State for India to certain questions put in the House of Commons on December 16 and to-day's news from London with regard to the attitude of His Majesty's Government will to some extent allay the grave apprehensions on the part of the Mussalmans of India, inasmuch as the main objective of the Congress in stirring up trouble in the States to secure a majority in the Federal Legislature by forcing His Majesty's Government to bring pressure to bear upon the Princes to set up an elective system for returning their representatives — has failed," says Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah in a statement to the Associated Press.

Mr. Jinnah adds: "As regards the appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy to India to give a trial to the federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, I am somewhat disturbed when His Excellency starts by expressing

his enthusiastic satisfaction over the working of the provincial constitution so far. Those of us who have had experience of the last eighteen months are completely disillusioned, and I am sure His Excellency must be aware of the fact that the Congress Provincial Governments are not functioning on the lines of a democratic parliamentary system of government, but on the lines of Fascism and authoritarian Governments with the British army and police behind them. And, so far as the Mussalmans are concerned in particular, they have in many parts of those provinces been cruelly treated and attempts have been made to crush them while the Governors have failed to protect them notwithstanding their special powers.

**"Fruitless Peach Tree"**

"This peach tree which has failed to produce any fruit and is withering in the provinces, His Excellency now wants us to plant on the sands of the Jumna at Delhi, on the sole plea that the unity of India can be secured throughout the sub-continent only by this highly artificial and unnatural scheme. Is this the way to secure the political and economic integration of India which, in the judgement of the Viceroy, outweighs all other considerations, apart from the inherent defects and flaws in the federal scheme?

"In my opinion, the British Government, by forcing the scheme upon India, will bring about more disastrous consequences to all concerned than even the ill-fated Versailles Treaty* which created the new state of Czechoslovakia by artificial methods which dragged in together wholly antagonistic and foreign elements and sections of people and races under so-called system of democratic parliamentary Government.

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* Versailles (15 Kilometers from Paris) was the principal residence of Kings of France and the seat of the government for more than 100 years. The treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany was signed in the 'Hall of Mirrors' in Palace of Versailles on June 28, 1919.

Perhaps His Excellency's absence from India may to some degree be responsible, if he does not know that all hopes of communal amity have already been dashed on the rock of Congress Fascism, as it is evident from the letter of the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, sent to me and published in the Press a few days ago. So long as the Congress "High Command" continues to put forward the most preposterous claim that they alone can speak and deliver the goods on behalf of the people of India, there cannot be any Hindu-Muslim settlement. The All-India Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India and we are prepared to face any situation that may arise to maintain that cardinal principle at any sacrifice.

"As many inquiries have been made with regard to the alleged recent meeting of Nawab Ismail Khan with Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and as a certain amount of misunderstanding has been created in the mind of the public by Press repots, I wish to make it clear that if Nawab Ismail Khan met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, he had no authority from the Executive Council of the Muslim League nor had I any knowledge of it. I strongly deprecate any member of the Muslim League going to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and thereby recognising his pretensions, directly or indirectly, that he holds the Islamic portfolio in the Congress "High Command."(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 23, 1938.*

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## 255

### Speech at the Flag-hoisting ceremony, Patna, December 24, 1938

Mr. Jinnah said: "By inviting me to hoist this flag of Islam, you have done me the greatest honour. This is the flag of

the Muslim League. It means that all Muslims should rally under it. When Muslims will be united under the flag of Islam, no earthly power will defeat them. Victory and success will be theirs. Let every Muslim come under this flag and realise the mission of Islam in the world."

*The Star of India, December 24, 1938*

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## 256

### Presidential Address delivered extempore at the 26th Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, Patna, December 26, 1938.

"I thank you for the great honour that you, the people of Patna and Bihar, have done me. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that such a large number of people have come from all parts of Bihar and from all over India to attend this session. I thank them for the trouble they have taken. I also thank those who have taken great pains to make this session a success and who have built this wonderful "pandal" and made all these marvellous arrangements.

Before I come to deal with the problems which are engaging our attention, I must express our joint and deep sorrow at the passing away of Maulana Shaukat Ali. Maulana Shaukat Ali was a great man, — a man who was always ready and willing to make any and every sacrifice for the cause in which he believed. He was a colleague and a personal friend of mine. He never swerved even by an inch from the path he had chosen and served the cause of the Muslim League with unflagging zeal to the very last. It is not only a personal loss but, I am sure, also a national Muslim loss, which is mourned all over India.

Another great figure, a world figure, that has passed away is Mustafa Kamal Ataturk. His death has come as the greatest blow to the Muslim world. He was the foremost figure in the Muslim East. In Iran and Afghanistan, in Egypt and of course in Turkey, he demonstrated to the consternation of the rest of the world that Muslim Nations were coming into their own. In Kamal Ataturk the Islamic world has lost a great hero. With the example of this great man in front of them as an inspiration, will the Muslims of India still remain in quagmire? (Cries of no, no.)

The Muslim League has already deplored the loss of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. His death, too, is an irreparable loss to Muslim India. He was a personal friend of mine and composer of the finest poetry in the world. He will live as long as Islam will live. His noble poetry interprets the true aspirations of the Muslims of India. It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us.

**Falsehood Of The Congress**

Ladies and Gentlemen, — I will now refer to the position of the Muslim League. It was only three years ago that we laid down the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay. The position at that time was this. Of the intelligentsia of the Muslims who were in the forefront of what is called political life, most — I do not say all — were careerists. They chose their place according to their convenience either in the bureaucratic camp or in the other camp, that is the Congress camp. Those who thought that they could better their position by joining the bureaucratic camp joined the same. The others thought that they could get position and power in the Congress camp and joined that camp. Their object was how best to make careers for themselves. So far as the masses were concerned and so far as my dear young friends the Muslim youth were concerned, they were all hypnotised by the Congress falsehood.

The youth believed their slogans and catchwords. They were caught right in the net that was spread for them by the Congress. They were led into the belief that the Congress was fighting for the freedom of the motherland. Being honest themselves they could not believe that other people could be otherwise. They were led to believe that the questions was really an economic one and that they were fighting for *dal bhat*, for the labour and the kisans. Their pure, untutored minds became easy victims of the Congress net. When we, who saw through the game and understood the inward meaning of the Congress leaders' move, tried to make them understand that they were being misled, we were dubbed reactionaries, communalists and much else besides.

That was the position in 1936. I am glad to say that things have now changed. One thing has been demonstrated beyond doubt, namely, that the Congress High Command wanted the Mussalmans to be a mere understudy of the Congress, mere foot-pages of the Congress leaders, to be used, governed and brought under the heels when they had served the purpose of the Congress. The Congress leaders wanted them to submit unconditionally to the Hindu raj. That game has now been fully exposed. We have not ample proofs of it. The Chairman of the Reception Committee has indicated some of those proofs in the address. I congratulate him for his most eloquent exposition of the true state of affairs in this country and also of the aims and objects of the Congress.

The Congress has now, you must be aware, killed every hope of Hindu-Muslim settlement in the right royal fashion of Fascism. The Congress does not want any settlement with the Muslims. It wants to thrust its own terms on Muslims of India. As the Chairman of Reception Committee has said in the address, the Congress wants the Muslims to accept the settlement as a gift from the majority. The Congress High Command makes the preposterous claim that they are entitled

to speak on behalf of the whole of India, that they alone are capable of delivering goods. Others are asked to accept the gift as from a mighty sovereign. The Congress High Command declared that they will redress the grievances of the Muslims, and they expect the Muslims to accept this declaration. I want to make it plain to all concerned that we Muslims want no gifts. The Muslims of India have made up our minds to have our fullest rights but we shall have them as rights, not as gifts or concessions.

As I have said before, there are four forces at play in this country. Firstly, there is the British Government, Secondly, there are the rulers and people of the Indian States. Thirdly, there are the Hindus and, fourthly, there are Muslims. The Congress Press may clamour as much as it likes, they may bring out their morning, afternoon, evening and night editions, the Congress leaders may cry as much as they like that Congress is a national body. But I say it is not true. The Congress is nothing but a Hindu body. That it is the truth and the Congress leaders know it. The presence of the few Muslims — the few misled and misguided ones and the few who are there with ulterior motives — does not, cannot make it a national body. I challenge anybody to deny that the Congress is not mainly a Hindu body. I ask, does the Congress represent the Muslims? (Voices: no, no.)

I ask, does the Congress represent the Christians? (Voices: no, no.) I ask, does the Congress represent the Scheduled Castes? (Voices: no, no.) I ask, does the Congress represent the non-Brahmans? (Voices: no, no.)

I say the Congress does not even represent all the Hindus. "What about the Hindu Mahasabha? What about the Liberal Federation? The Congress, no doubt, is the largest single party in the country. But it is nothing more than that. It may arrogate to itself whatever titles it likes; the Congress High Command, in the intoxication of power like persons who are

drunk, may make any claims it pleases them to make. But such claims cannot alter the true character of the Congress. It remains what it is — mainly a Hindu body.

**Congress Determined To Crush Minorities**

Such claims might have hoodwinked some people for some time but they cannot hoodwink all the people all the time, and can certainly not hoodwink the Muslims any longer. I am convinced — I think you are also now convinced, and many who are not yet convinced will soon be convinced, and those who are honestly mistaken now, not those who are dishonest in their conviction, will also be convinced — that the Congress is not a national body. It is a misfortune of our country; indeed, it is a tragedy that the High Command of the Congress is determined, absolutely determined to crush all other communities and cultures in this country and to establish Hindu raj. They talk of Swaraj, but they mean only Hindu raj. They talk of national government but they mean only Hindu government. But the bubble has been pricked too soon. Intoxicated with power gained under the new Constitution, with their majority in six or seven provinces the Congress game has been exposed a little too soon. What did the Congress do when it got the power? With all its pretensions of nationalism, it straightway started with the *Bande Matram*. It is admitted that *Bande Matram* is not the national song, yet it is sung as such and thrust upon others. It is sung not only in their gatherings, but Muslim children in Government and Municipal schools too are compelled to sing it, Muslim children must accept *Bande Matram* as their national song, no matter whether their religious beliefs permit them to do so or not. It is idolatrous and a hymn of hatred against Muslims.

Take the case of the Congress flag. Admittedly it is not the national flag of India, yet that flag must be respected by everyone and hoisted on every Government and public building.

It does not matter if the Muslim object to it, the Congress flag must be paraded as the national flag of India and be thrust upon the Muslims.

Take next the case of Hindi-Hindustani. I need not add to what has already been said on the subject by the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Is there any doubt now in the mind of anyone that the whole scheme of Hindi-Hindustani is intended to stifle and suppress Urdu? (Voices: "no doubt.")

**Gandhi's Scheme Of Hindu Revival**

Take next the Wardha scheme of education. Were the Muslims taken into confidence when the scheme was under preparation? The whole scheme was conceived of and its details worked out behind the back of the Muslims. Who is the author of the scheme? Who is the genius behind it? Mr. Gandhi. I have no hesitation in saying that it is Mr. Gandhi who is destroying the ideal with which the Congress was started. He is the one man responsible for turning the Congress into an instrument for the revival of Hinduism. His ideal is to revive Hindu religion and establish Hindu raj in this country, and he is utilising the Congress to further this object.

**Interfering With Muslim Life**

The reaction of the Muslims to such a scheme of education could not but be what it has been all over the country. You have seen the Pirpur Report and I need not add to what has been described in that document. The position may be summed up in one sentence. To-day Hindu mentality and outlook is being carefully nurtured and Muslims are being forced to accept the new conditions and to submit to the orders of the Congress leaders. This Hindu outlook is daily interfering with the normal life of the Muslim. The Mussalmans are being forced to accept Hindu ideals in their daily life. Have Muslims anywhere done anything of the sort? Have they anywhere sought to impose

Muslim culture on the Hindus? Yet whenever Muslims have raised the slightest voice of protest against the imposition of Hindu culture on them, they have been branded as communalists and disturbers of peace, and the repressive machinery of the Congress Governments has been set in motion against them. Take the cases that have occurred in Bihar. Who have suffered suppression of culture under the Congress Government? It is the Mussalmans. Against whom are the repressive measures taken, prohibitory orders issued — and among whom are arrests made? It is the Muslims. I should like to know a single instance — I am prepared to learn and correct myself — a single instance where the Muslim League or Muslim individuals may have tried to force their own culture upon the Hindus in the last eighteen months. (Cries: nowhere.)

**Muslim Awakening Of National Consciousness**

I do not wish to dwell any longer upon this. I have done with it, so far as the Congress is concerned. As regards the Mussalmans I can say that it is a matter of great congratulation to All-India Muslim League that it has succeeded in awakening a remarkable national consciousness among the Muslims. Muslims, as I said before, were like men who had lost their moral, cultural and political consciousness. You have not yet got to the fringe of acquiring that moral, cultural and political consciousness. You have only reached that stage at which there has come awakening — your political consciousness has been stirred.

To-day you find — apart from the fact whether the Congress claims are right or wrong — to-day you find that the Hindus have to a very large degree acquired that essential quality, moral, cultural and political consciousness, and it has become the national consciousness of the Hindus. This is the force behind them. That is the force I want the Muslims to acquire. When you have acquired that, believe me, I have no

doubt in my mind, you will realise what you want. The counting of heads may be a very good thing, but it is not the final arbiter of the destiny of nations. You have yet to develop a national self and national individuality. It is a big task, and, as I have told you, you are yet only on the fringe of it. But I have great hopes of our success. The developments that have already taken place are almost miraculous. I never dreamed we could make this wonderful demonstration which we see to-day. But even then we are only on the fringe of the problem.

**Palestine**

Among the immediate issues we have to grapple with, which may come up before the Subjects Committee, is the question of Palestine. I know how deeply Muslim feelings have been stirred over the issue of Palestine. I know Muslims will not shirk from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national freedom. You know the Arabs have been treated shamelessly. Men, who are fighting for the freedom of their country, have been described as gangsters and subjected to all forms of repression. For defending their homelands they are being put down at the point of the bayonet and with the help of martial laws. But no nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifices which the Arabs of Palestine are making. All our sympathies are with those valiant martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers. They are being subjected to monstrous injustices which are being propped up by British imperialism with the ulterior motive of placating international Jewry, which commands the money bags. That question we will have to consider.

**Congress Game In States**

Another question that will come up for consideration is the situation that is developing in the Indian States. You have heard the Chairman of the Reception Committee on that

subject. One point I would like to add to this observation. As you are all aware, we are in fullest sympathy with the aspirations of the States' people. I am convinced, however, as I am convinced about the real objects of the Congress, that the motive of the Congress championing the rights of the States' people is far from what it is made out to be. I would like to put one question. Why all this agitation in the States? Why are all the forces being let loose in the name of the Arya Samajists and the Hindu Mahasabha in Hyderabad State? I would ask the Congress, what is it doing in Kashmir? The Arya Samajists, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress nationalists, as also the press, subservient press of the Congress, why are they silent about the affairs of the Kashmir State? Is it because Kashmir is a Hindu State? Is it because the vast majority of the subject people of Kashmir State is Muslim? I have no doubt about the real meaning of the Congress solicitude for the people of the Indian States.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has said in one of his speeches that the Congress wants to make an alliance with the people of the Indian States. May I ask, do they want to make an alliance only with those who are Hindus or also with the Mussalmans? According to the present constitution of Muslim League, the League cannot interfere in the affairs of the Indian States. But I want to make it clear that if the Congress pursues its campaign in Muslim State like Hyderabad with the ulterior motive which undoubtedly is inspiring it at present, the Muslim League would have to consider afresh the question of interference with the affairs of Indian States. We cannot leave our Muslim brethren in the Hindu States at the 'tender mercies' of their oppressors and those who wish to exploit them.

**Federation**

The next question that you will have to consider is that of the Federation. Let the Congress continue to say that they

will never accept the Federation. But I tell you I do not at all believe in the professions of the Congress. The Congress will tumble into it just as it tumbled into the Provincial part of the Constitution. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was loud in his declaration the other day that whatever individual Congressmen might say here and there, the Congress as a whole was determined to reject the Federation, lock, stock and barrel. I do not believe in such declarations. I know another Congress leader has said that revision and modification will satisfy them, and if the elective principle was accepted, it would appease the Congress, and yet another leader declares that if the Federal scheme could be so altered as to give them the substance of independence, the Congress might work it and in that way the undesirable and unworkable Federal Constitution might be made a desirable and workable one. I say the whole idea behind the Congress leaders' move is once again to deceive the Muslims. I want to tell those leaders, however, that they cannot deceive the Muslims any more. The Muslims are not what they were three years ago. The whole game of the Congress is and has been to get substantial majority in this wretched, highly objectionable and rotten Constitution which they want to enjoy. If they get a majority, they will accept the Federation with utmost glee, and then they will be in to pursue their nefarious scheme of destroying the Muslim culture and organisation and to build up the Congress organisation as the one and only totalitarian organisation of the Fascist brand. And then they will be able to establish their ideal of Hindu Raj in Hindustan.

**Congress Intrigues**

The Congress leaders know what they are aiming at. They have got their majorities in seven provinces and have Congress governments there. There are only four provinces left. The cavetous eyes of the Congress leaders are now cast upon these provinces. Every now and then they declare that the non-Congress governments in these provinces are tottering, aye,

tottering, in spite of their majorities, struggling on their last legs. The Congress leaders think that in these four provinces the Ministries are not very strong. But it is not difficult to see through the Congress game. They want to see a Congress government in whichever of these provinces they can. I had a talk with some friends of the North-West Frontier province. I am told that in that province our co-religionists — credulous Pathans as they are — have been told that the Congress is for the good of the people, that the Muslim League is the supporter of imperialism and an ally of imperialism! I say there cannot be a greater falsehood than the allegation that the Muslim League is an ally of imperialism. Inside the legislature or outside the legislature have I on any single occasion supported imperialism, not to speak of proving myself an ally of imperialism? (Voices: no, no.).

I am sure even if there were a few amongst Muslims who had thought in the past that the Muslims might gain their end by alliance with British imperialism, they have now been thoroughly disillusioned. I say the Muslim League is not going to be an ally of anyone, but would be the ally of even the devil if need be in the interests of Muslims.

*(A pin-drop silence suddenly appeared to seize the House at this stage. Mr. Jinnah paused for a moment and then continued).*

It is not because we are in love with imperialism; but in politics one has to play one's game as on the chessboard. I say the Muslims and the Muslim League have only one ally and that ally is the Muslim nation, and one and only one to whom they look for help is God!

The Congress game with regard to Federation is very clever. If the Congress can gain the control over the Federal machinery, then, by means of direct and indirect powers vested in the Federal Government, the Congress would be able to

reduce to nonentity the Governments of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq in Bengal and the Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hayat Khan in the Punjab. So in the end the Congress will have seven provinces where they enjoy overwhelming numerical majority as a gift of God, and the other four provinces where Muslims dominate will be the feudatories of the Congress High Command.

If I am right in my judgment, that is the objective of the Congress. Therefore, I say the Congress opposition to the Federation is not honest. Am I to blame for it? Am I wrong? (Voice: no, no.)

**Face To Face With A Life And Death Struggle**

Ladies and Gentlemen, now it is for you and you alone to make your decision. All the responsibilities will be yours. You are face to face with a life and death struggle. You should not allow your attention to be deflected by small questions. So and so have not been taken in the Working Committee of the League; so and so should not be in the League; such small matters should not divert your attention from the main issues confronting the community. Only this morning some young men came to me and complained about the personnel of the League. They said that certain persons, whose names I need not mention, should not be in the League. To these young men as well as to others I say that the Muslim League is not yet what it should be. I am prepared to admit that there are men who are not true leaguers. But the Muslim League is the organisation of all Muslims. It is your organisation. Let me tell my young friends, if they want to purify the Muslim League, if they want to raise the Muslim League to the highest glory, it is no use keeping out and finding faults with it. Come in, and if there is anything wrong with it, put it right.

Therefore, I appeal to everyone: Come into the Muslim League, it is your organisation. It is not the property of this man

or that man. It is your organization, and you can make it as you like and what you like. I think I have said all that I had to say. You will forgive me for having made the speech extempore. My health did not permit me writing out my speech. Besides, I have already made so many speeches. The last speech I made was at Karachi only in October last. I expressed my views on that occasion as on other occasions. My views are, therefore, well known.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure for me to see that a great awakening has taken place among the Muslims. They have grasped the real issues. That is a great beginning, Having made this great beginning, if you now harness your energies and mobilise your forces like a disciplined army, victory will be yours.

Mr. Jinnah then addressed a few words in Urdu. He appealed to them to close up their ranks. He said that when the Congress started the Muslim mass contact campaign they threw out a challenge that the Muslim masses were with them. The Assembly by-elections in the U.P. and the recent one in Hazaribagh in this province had given the proper reply to the Congress challenge. And now the Congress refused even to set up their own candidate in the by-election to the Central Assembly caused by the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali.

What had happened, he asked, to the Congress Muslim mass contact campaign? He added that the Congress should now give up this contact affair.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that they were now told that there was no possibility of settlement, and that the Muslims were to be won over on independent lines. Let us wait and see what those 'independent lines' are.

Concluding, he appealed to the Muslims in the Congress

camp to join the Muslim League for their own benefit and the benefit of the entire Muslim community.

*QAP-File 1020 pp. 130-156 & File 793 pp.1-15 & "All India Muslim League, Patna Session, Deecember, 1938, Verbatum Report of the Presidential Address (Delivered Extempore) by Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah," Printed and Published by S. Shamsul Hassan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League at Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1945, pp. 1-15.*

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## 257

### Speech at the concluding session of the All India Muslim League, Patna, December 29, 1938

Winding up the proceedings of the 26th session of the All India Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, the President, observed that the Patna session marked an epoch in the growth of Muslim solidarity and the League in that it was the most successful session he had ever seen since 1913 when he joined the League. Mr. Jinnah paid a tribute to the public of Patna for their orderly manner and appealed to them to rally under the League banner.

Mr. Jinnah said that the League had laid down, during the present session, a fundamental principle of a revolutionary nature which was a departure from the past namely decision to adopt 'Direct Action' if and when necessary. So long, he said, the League had been wedded only to the policy of constitutional progress. The Patna session, he added, was the most successful he had seen ever since 1913 when he joined the League and paid a tribute to the public of Patna for their orderly manner. In connection with 'Direct Action' Mr. Jinnah pleaded for patience and asked Muslims to organise the League so that the nine

crores of Muslims might come under the banner of the League. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, December 30, 1938*

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## 258

### Inaugural speech at the All-India Muslim Students' Conference, Patna, December 29, 1938.

"There were three forces in the country: the British, the States and the Congress. The time has now come to give battle to all these forces and the sooner young men made up their minds to do so the better for them, observed Mr. M. A. Jinnah, inaugurating the All-India Muslim Students Conference.

Criticising the Congress at length, he said that young men had been deluded into believing that the Congress fought for the freedom of the country and the masses, and that the Congress would turn the country into a land of milk and honey. But now it was amply evident that it said one thing while meaning something quite different.

Mr. Jinnah strongly repudiated the various charges and criticisms levelled against him, such as being a communalist, a fanatic and an ally of Imperialism, seeking personal gratification in the face of the gravity of the problems facing the country.

Referring to the negotiations with the Congress for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question and the political status of the League, he said that the Congress had offered terms which were unjust and prejudiced. The Muslim League would be satisfied with nothing less than perfect equality. The Congress claim of being the only body representing the entire country was preposterous. India was not a nation yet, but a

number of nationalities.

Referring to Federation, he warned his audience against being deluded by the Congress declaration that they did not want Federation. He added that the Congress had declared that it would not accept the new constitution, but was now embracing it.(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 1, 1939.*

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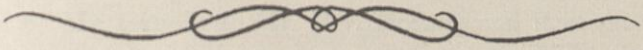

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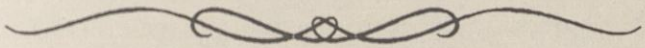

# 259

## Statement on Mr. Gandhi's interview to Mr. Hodson, Patna, Janaury 1, 1939.

In the course of a statement to the Associated Press on Mr. Gandhi's observations on the League "*vis-a-vis*" the Congress, appearing in the latest issue of the "*Harijan*," Mr. M. A. Jinnah reiterates that the Congress claim to be the "only body that can deliver the goods on behalf of the people of India" is "preposterous."

Mr. Jinnah says: "I have seen the report of the interview given by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. H.V. Hodson and it is quite clear that he maintains the preposterous claim of the Congress that it is the only body that can deliver the goods on behalf of the people of India and indulges in platitudes and talks about the history of the Congress and its ambition to become all-representative of the entire nation.

"He says that it is a worthy ambition, in keeping with its best tradition and that, if you study the Congress you will find that, since its inception, the Congress has sought to serve and represent all sections in the country equally."

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah says: "Mr. Gandhi is mainly responsible for having destroyed that ideal and the tradition of the Congress, since he has captured it. It is all very well for Mr. Gandhi to say that the Congress would love to be absorbed by the Muslim League if the Muslim League cared to absorb it, or to absorb the Muslim League in its turn, so far as the political programme was concerned. Is it not absurd, on the face of it to set the Muslim League the task of absorbing the Congress, the Congress being mainly a Hindu body with a majority of four to one? Mr. Gandhi is quite safe and he knows that the result will be that the Congress will absorb the Muslim League and he can well afford to talk in this strain.

"In fact, Mr. Gandhi proceeded to say, when asked the Congress in its ambition to absorb other political organisations, tended to become a totalitarian party. You may damn it by calling it Totalitarian. Absorption is inevitable."

"Then Mr. Gandhi hastens to say: "You should bear in mind that the Congress does not impose its will on others". Is this true?

"And then he says: "Its (the Congress's) sanctions are non-violent". Is this true?

"When asked by his interviewer. "Would not the march to full responsible government be more rapid if the Muslims were taken along" his reply was: Of course it would be. Personally I do not want anything which the Muslims oppose, but I have faith that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle will come much sooner than most people expect."

"I am glad that Mr. Gandhi is beginning to see some light through an impenetrable darkness."

**Muslim League View**

"But," Mr. Jinnah continues the story of Mr. Gandhi, when he says" I do not want anything which the Muslims oppose" is so old and so oft-repeated by him that it is not going any longer to deceive the Mussalmans. When he talks of his detached mind, it is difficult to believe it. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, they have been driven to the conclusion that, whatever may be the ideal and theory and however worthy, actual realities show that the Congress has proved in its policy and programme, whenever they have been called upon to act, that they are no better than the Hindu Mahasabha, which openly stands for a Hindu Raj in this country, as laid down by them only a few days ago at the Nagpur session of the Hindu Mahasabha."

Referring to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's observations

at the United Provinces Political Conference on the criticism of the Congress made by prominent leaders at the Patna session of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah says: "Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru has said that the attacks by the Muslim League on the Congress were baseless and absurd and he is ashamed that in any country a man could indulge in such abuses when they all were engaged in the fight for freedom.

"All I can say is that Mr. Jawahar Lal is either utterly ignorant of what is going on even in his own province, or that he has lost all sense of fairness and justice when he characterises the charges against the Congress Governments as "baseless."

Turning to press comments on the Patna session of the League, Mr. Jinnah says: "In a responsible section of the press it has been said that they do not know what are the instances which amount to persecution of Mussalmans in Congress governed provinces. If the representatives of the press who were present at the deliberations of the session of the Muslim League had cared to report the instances which were openly narrated in the open session by one speaker after another. I am sure that they would have agreed with us that we are not exaggerating when we characterise the treatment of Mussalmans in several cases as amounting to atrocities. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 4, 1939.*

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## 260

### Statement in reply to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's statement, Bombay, January 6, 1939.

"The view that if Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is really in earnest about his offer of referring the complaints of the Muslim League against Congress Governments to an independent and

impartial tribunal he should communicate to him (Mr. Jinnah) the sanction behind the proposed impartial inquiry is expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of a statement to the Press.

Mr. Jinnah says: "My attention has been drawn to the statement of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and to his plea for an inquiry. I note that he now says that he is ignorant of what is taking place even in his own province and he requests me to inform him of the charges against the Congress Party majority Governments.

"While I will not doubt his impulse for justice it is most extraordinary that he should have characterised the allegations in the first instance as baseless and absurd and that he was ashamed that in any country a man should indulge in such abuses when they all were engaged in a fight for freedom.

"The Muslim League appointed a committee on March 20, 1938, under the chairmanship of the Raja Saheb of Pirpur, which after most careful investigation and examination on the spot in the various provinces has made its report which has already appeared in the Press. Has not Pandit Jawahar Lal's attention been drawn to it?

"He is good enough to say that an eminent lawyer like myself should know that one-sided charges have to be proved before they are believed. But Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has characterised them as baseless and absurd. On his own admission, without even knowing what those charges are, he wants me to inform him as to what they are. It is difficult to deal with such a mentality.

"Not only that, but in the very conference over which he presided at Ayodhya in the U.P. the Prime Minister of the United Provinces had the temerity to say that the Mussalmans were not only treated justly but generously.

"I would ask him, what about Tanda, Dadri Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh, not to mention various other instances that are given in the Pirpur report submitted to me and published in all newspapers. Would Pandit Pant, the Prime Minister, mention the instances of the generous treatment of the Muslims in the U.P.? So the Prime Minister of the U.P. has already delivered his verdict. Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra, a responsible Minister in the C.P. is also reported to have done so in to-day's papers.

"Pandit Jawahar Lal proceeds to say with a big "I" as follows: 'I would be happy to have these charges placed for investigation before any independent and impartial body which will inquire into them." But I ask, is this offer merely propaganda or a serious one or intended merely for the press. I ask this question because in order to constitute an independent and impartial body of inquiry you have first got to decide its terms of reference, its powers and the authority behind it and also to whom it will be responsible and to whom it will submit its report and who will be the authority to take action accordingly.

"All these questions have got to be considered. At present Mr. Jawahar Lal's offer is in the air through the Press. If Pandit Jawahar Lal is really in earnest let him communicate with me as to what will be the sanction behind the proposed impartial and independent inquiry committee and various other matters of detail mentioned by me.

"In the meantime I would most earnestly request Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru first to study the Pirpur report which has not only been published but is also available, if he wishes to obtain a copy from the League's office before pronouncing his verdict again "ex parte."(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 7, 1939.*

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## 261

### Statement regarding Palestine Conference, Bombay, January 30, 1939

"In view of the forthcoming Palestine Conference, which is going to take place on or about February 7, 1939, in London, I have sent the following telegram to Mr. Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of Great Britain: the Secretary of State for India and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Minister for Colonies:

"The All-India Muslim League urges upon His Majesty's Government to give representation to the Muslim League on the Palestine Conference and concede the Palestine National Arab demands. Muslim India is most anxiously awaiting results. I cannot by means of a telegram express adequately and impress the intensity of feeling prevailing throughout India. The failure of the Conference will be most disastrous throughout the Muslim world, resulting in grave consequences. I trust that this earnest appeal will receive your serious consideration."

Mr. Jinnah requests the various provincial, district and primary Leagues to hold public meetings all over India on February 8 and send similar telegrams to the Prime Minister of Great Britain. He says he has issued instructions accordingly.(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, February 1, 1939.*

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## 262

### Message to the Arab Delegations to the Palestine Conference (London), Bombay, February 1, 1939

"Muslim India heartily wish all success to Arab Delegations. Muslim League solidly supports you. There is only

one thing more for me to say. I wish you, the Delegates of the Arab and Muslim World, success in your deliberations. May Allah crown your efforts with success; for this success will bring joy and happiness to every Arab and Muslim home. The day the message goes forth from London that right has triumphed will be the day of the third and the greatest Id this year, for Muslims. May Allah grant you courage and wisdom and may you be guided to success by His light. Amen!"

*The Star of India, February 15, 1939*

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## 263

### Appeal to the Muslim Voters, Bombay, February 5, 1939

In an appeal addressed to the city Muslim voters by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, on the eve of the Municipal elections, he points out that the amended Municipal Act which was recently passed by the Congress Government is calculated to prejudice the Muslim representation in the Bombay Corporation. It was passed in the teeth of the opposition of the Mussalmans who felt that the amendments introduced in the Act were intended to reduce their representation considerably. Nevertheless the Bombay Provincial Muslim League decided to contest the elections in the Bombay Corporation and has put forward its candidates.

The candidates were selected by a committee specially appointed for the purpose, and to do everything necessary to enable them to contest the elections successfully. This is the first time that the League, as a party, has put forward its candidates with a definite policy and programme. In view of the small proportion of the voting strength which the Mussalmans enjoy in different wards, the Muslim League candidates can succeed

only if they are supported solidly by the Mussalman voters.

"In these circumstances I appeal to every Mussalman to support and vote for the Muslim League candidates only and thereby establish and prove once more the solidarity and unity of the Mussalmans behind the All-India Muslim League. The success of the Muslim League candidates also has indirectly a political significance which will give a lead in matters and issues far more vital, which are facing us not only in this Province but throughout the country. The success of the Muslim League at the municipal polling booths will further prove its strength and the manner in which it is forging ahead. I, therefore, trust that this appeal of mine to the Mussalmans of Bombay will not fail."

*The Bombay Sentinel, February 6, 1939.*

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## 264

### Statement releasing Correspondence between himself and the Secretary State for India, New Delhi, February 6, 1939

"Mr. M. A. Jinnah has released to the Press the following telegraphic communication that passed between himself and the Secretary of State for India in regard to the demand for representation on the Palestine Conference made by him on behalf of the Muslim League.

*Telegram from the Secretary of State for India to Mr. Jinnah.*

"I have received your telegram asking on behalf of the All-India Muslim League for representation for the Muslims of India at the Palestine Conference. His Majesty's Government have already carefully considered the possibility of making arrangements of this nature, but for cogent reasons connected

with the general composition of the Conference they have, with regret, reached the conclusion that it would not be possible to extend the scope of representation already decided upon.

"You will appreciate, other considerations apart, that any widening of the basis of that representation in respect of one party to the Conference must inevitably involve a corresponding widening in other directions. But you have my assurance that His Majesty's Government have throughout been kept fully informed of the views of the Muslims of India and that they have constantly had in mind, and will continue to bear in mind, the great importance attached by Indian Muslim opinion to the issues before the Conference. It is their earnest hope that the Conference will succeed in finding solutions of the Palestine problem which will result in reconciliation of the opposing interests and be accepted as just by Muslims throughout the world."

*Telegram from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the Secretary of State for India*:

"Greatly appreciate courtesy your reply. Deeply disappointed His Majesty's Government not inclined extend representation Muslim India at Palestine Conference. No analogy comparison Muslim India other parties in view of solemn promises assurances given to Mussalmans India during War. Palestine, their first Qibla Muslims deeply and vitally concerned their holy places. Earnestly urge His Majesty's Government meet request." (A.P.).

*The Civil & Military Gazette, February 8, 1939.*

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## 265

### Statement regarding Congress attitude towards Indian States, New Delhi, February 6, 1939

The positive aggression now being adopted by the Indian National Congress towards the Indian States is in fact an attempt to betray the electorate of British India, declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an exclusive interview on the Muslim League's recent resolution condemning the attitude now being taken towards the princes as exemplified by Mr. Gandhi's latest article in the *Harijan*.

"The motive cannot be disguised. The move follows directly on the Congress declaration that the foremost condition requisite to acceptance of Federation under the Government of India Act, described in the same breath as unacceptable, is the provision of elected representatives in place of nominees from the Indian States. The object is to secure for Congress at the Centre undisputed power and to crush the influence of, nay, the very existence, of other parties in British India and particularly the Muslim League.

"The attitude of the Muslims and of the Muslim League representing their interest has been clear from the outset. During the Round Table Conference we secured our legitimate claim to one third of the British Indian representation. As far as the States were concerned however no arrangement was made or guarantee given. During the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee, I registered a protest at the weightage being conceded to the States in the Central Legislature. I pointed out that this meant the Federal Legislature could only legislate as far as the States were concerned, in such matters as they delegated by their instruments of accession. The States, on the other hand, would receive a disproportionate and decisive voice in the affairs of British India. It was at that time suggested that

the States representatives would not vote on an issue solely affecting British India. But that is not so provided in the Government of India Act. While the Hindu-Muslim issue remains unsolved, it might reasonably be expected that the nominees of the States Governments would be responsible and experienced administrators who would be willing and capable to appreciate the common interest whatever their communal predilection.

"It is however patent that the real objective of the Congress is to secure elected demagogues boosted by the Congress organisation, and blindly obedient to Congress dictates. Since Provincial Autonomy came in, the Congress have arrogantly rejected the cooperation of other parties in rebuilding the nation, and have exploited the opportunity rather for building Congress as a single totalitarian organisation claiming the sole right to speak for and negotiate on behalf of the Indian people. On the other hand, Government dominated by the Muslim vote and headed by the Muslim League, present a striking contrast, being broadbased coalitions including representation of the other major communities despite the fact that the Muslim franchise alone would suffice to maintain a majority Government. Abominating as they do the idea of true democratic compromise with other sections, Congress seeks undisputed dictatorship at the centre and desires to ride roughshod over the minority communities. For this purpose they are seeking to coerce the Princes. The plausible excuse of a new found active commiseration for the condition of States subjects will deceive no one. The Congress campaign is being conducted with as uncompromising virulence and intensity in States like Mysore and Travancore and Hyderabad with comparatively high standards of administration as in Kathiawar and the Nilgri States.

"The Muslim League is unalterably opposed to the British Parliament's Federal scheme for reasons that are clear,

and the Resolution of the Executive Council of All India Muslim League declares without equivocation that 'if the methods of coercion and intimidation resulted in the British Government yielding to the Congress the Mussalmans will not hesitate to resort to the most extreme measures in their opposition to such a position where their most vital interests would stand to be sacrificed.' The Muslim League has the fullest sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of the States people in their desire for constitutional advance, but I am afraid the States people are being misled and exploited in a manner which, in my opinion, is detrimental to their own interest and the country generally."

*QAP-F-1096, p. 188-89*

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## 266

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Indian Representation at the Palestine Conference", New Delhi, February 7, 1939.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There is yet another notice of a motion of adjournment in the name of Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury. He wishes to discuss the failure of the Government of India to secure representation of India at the Palestine Conference which is now in progress. Is there any objection to that?

**The Honourable Mr. R. M. Maxwell** (Home Member): Sir, the composition of this Palestine Conference was announced by His Majesty's Government a considerable time ago. It is of course entirely the business of His Majesty's Government and not the business of the Government of India. The real effect of this motion for adjournment would be to discuss the failure of His Majesty's Government in not giving

representation to India and not the failure of the Government of India to secure representation for India. It is not our business. Leaving that point, I should like to say that the composition of this Conference and the terms of reference to it were announced by His Majesty's Government at least a month ago and it cannot be said that any alleged failure of the Government of India in an urgent matter of recent occurrence. There is no point at which any particular action or inaction of the Government of India arises which requires sudden discussion in this House. I, therefore, think that this motion for adjournment cannot be moved.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Why was not notice given earlier of this adjournment motion? It was published in the Press that the Conference was going on.

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury** (Assam: Muhammadan): Only today it was definitely known that Mr. Jinnah's request for allowing representation for Indian Muslims on the Palestine Conference was refused. Therefore, I could not send notice earlier.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): But that is not the wording of the motion. You say that it was definitely refused only yesterday.

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury**: Only from today's newspapers that I have come to know that it has been refused.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): May I point out to you, Sir, that the real urgency is this? The All-India Muslim League passed a Resolution in Patna in December and that was communicated to the Government of India as well as to the Secretary of State for India. As no communication was forthcoming, I sent a telegram straight to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the

Colonial Secretary, and a reply was received by me on Saturday last when I was leaving Bombay for Delhi. The next day was a Sunday, and I was in the train. I released the telegram as soon as it was possible, that is on Monday, yesterday, and today is Tuesday. Those are the facts.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Was any communication received before this from the Secretary of State as to whether India will be represented or not on this Conference?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I was waiting for a reply.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It was not received before.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No, Sir. The Resolution of the All-India Muslim League was communicated to the Government of India sometime ago and no reply was vouchsafed by the Government of India as to whether they have done anything in the matter.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar** (Leader of the House): The announcement of the personnel of the Committee showing that there was no representative of Indian Muslims was made after the Resolution had been passed by the All-India Muslim League. So it was well-known that in spite of this Resolution no representation was given to Indian Muslims.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Was the Assembly in session then?

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: No. An adjournment motion could have been moved on the opening day of this Session, that is on Friday, the 3rd February. The Resolution of the All-India Muslim League was communicated long ago, and no reply was sent. Simply because another telegram was sent at the last moment, that could not make the motion urgent.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): His case is that the news that it was definitely refused was only seen in the Press today.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: It was refused definitely when the announcement was made of the members who will constitute this Committee and that was after the resolution of the All-India Muslim League was passed. After that they had plenty of time. Even on my friend's showing there is no reason why this notice was not given yesterday.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: May I point out, Sir, that even after the announcement was made of the personnel of the Palestine Conference, the question of another party in Palestine was not decided till very recently. Similarly, we had requested His Majesty's Government to give representation to the Indian Muslims. How can we possibly move a motion for adjournment unless reply is given and until it is refused.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): As objection has been taken, will those Honourable Members who are for leave being granted rise in their places?

(More than 25 Members stood in their places).

As not less than 25 Members have risen in their places in support of this motion for adjournment, leave is granted and it will be taken up for discussion at 4 o'clock this evening.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates,*
*1939, Vol.I, pp. 369-71.*

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## 267

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Indian Naval Reserve Forces (Discipline) Bill", New Delhi, February 7, 1939

**Mr. C.M.G. Ogilvie** (Defence Secretary): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the discipline of members of the Indian Naval Reserve Forces raised in British India on behalf of His Majesty.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the discipline of members of the Indian Naval Reserve Forces raised in British India on behalf of His Majesty".

The motion was adopted.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

. . . . .

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie**: (Defence Secretary): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to provide for the discipline of members of the Indian Naval Reserve Forces raised in British India on behalf of His Majesty be taken into consideration".

The Bill is a very short and simple one, but I think that a brief explanation of the background of it is perhaps necessary and will be of interest to the House. The Royal Indian Navy became finally and fully a combatant service with the passing of the Indian Naval Discipline Act in 1934.

. . . . .

**Mr. J. D. Boyle** (Bombay: European):..... What is before the House at the moment is the question as to whether there should be discipline in the volunteer reserve forces or not.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Where are those forces?

**Mr. J. D. Boyle**: It is for the purpose of raising those forces that this Bill has become necessary.

. . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I would like very shortly to draw the attention of the House to the history of this Bill. For the moment I am not concerned with the origin and the history of the creation of the Indian Army. It is a matter of long standing, but so far as the Indian Navy is concerned, it was created in the year 1927 by an Act of Parliament, and, immediately after the Navy was created, we were presented with a Bill by the Government of India for the purpose of discipline. At that time the House considered the question very carefully and gave its verdict and rejected the Bill. It is no use saying "Why are you creating this dust to this extent that the entire policy of defence has got to be considered however objectionable it may be." But we have to consider that the creation of the Navy took place in 1927, and since then much water has flown down the Hughly. Now, this Parliamentary Statute comes to this — that the control, administration and everything which matters to the Indian Navy rests with the Admiralty and the British Government, and, in the debate on that Bill in 1927 in Parliament, be it said to the credit of some Honourable Members there, they protested against it and attacked the Government virulently. I will just read to you some of the words which will convey to you a better idea than I can give. This is the gist of what they said. I am quoting from my own speech, but the quotation is really from "Hansard".

> "You are passing this Bill." (*That is, the Bill before Parliament*). "If this Bill is enacted into law, the position will be that an Indian Navy will be created and that the entire burden of the maintenance and administration of that Indian Navy will be borne by the Indian tax-payer and yet the Indian Legislature will have no voice in the

control of the Indian Navy, financial or otherwise. It will have only the privilege to pay for it, the budget being non-voted."

Now, Sir, I ask – it is no use my asking the Government, nor is it any use my asking my Honourable friend, the Defence Secretary; he is only an instrument and he has got to carry out orders. But I do ask my European friends and Mr. Boyle that this was the position created in 1927, and do you think that in 1927 that position ought to have been approved of by us? Therefore, the first ground and the fundamental ground is that we do not wish to be reduced to the privilege only of paying for it when even that part of the budget is not voted by us. And do you blame us?

Now, let us go further. This was in 1927-28 when we rejected that Bill: after the Bill was rejected, the Government waited until they were in a position to get a personnel of this Legislature more amenable, and more pliable, and they passed the Navy Discipline Bill in 1934 to which the Leader of the Opposition has referred. Of course, I am told that many of the Members opposed this Bill even in 1934. I know; I followed the debate; it was a very large body of opinion in this House that opposed that Bill tooth and nail, but anyhow it was carried. Now, there is one more thing which I wish to bring to the notice of the House. What is the position with regard to the Indian Navy which has been created? And what will be the position with regard to the reserve forces which are now under the contemplation of the Government to be created? The Admiralty and His Majesty's Government will utilize these naval forces in any part of the world, or for any purpose they choose, provided they get the vote from both Houses of Parliament, and they can use this Navy for any purpose they like. We have no voice, no control, over either the raising of it or the using of it. That is the position which will be brought about. Do you think that we are wrong in resenting, in opposing and in condemning this policy of

the Government?

Now, we come to the immediate proposal of the Government. Mr. Boyle is a business man and he says, "it is a pure matter of discipline; do you want discipline or you do not want discipline?" Well, I can assure him that I am a great believer in discipline. But have you really appreciated or understood this Bill — I ask the Honourable Member. What is this Bill? Well, we have got the Indian Navy, but now it is suggested we are to get four other forces which are under contemplation that they might be created, — that is, the Royal Indian Fleet Reserve, the Royal Indian Naval Reserve, the Royal Indian Naval Volunteer Reserve and the Royal Indian Naval Communication Reserve, — some of which, when created, will not be governed by the Act of 1934. Hence the amendment is sought. But where are those forces? They are to be created. By whom? I ask my Honourable friend, Mr. Boyle, by whom? By the Governor General in Council. Who will make the rules? The Governor General in Council. When? It will be created afterwards. How will it be constituted? What will be its constitution? We do not know anything about these matters. Now, I ask, Sir, — can you expect anybody to support a Bill of that character? The callousness, the indifference, the nonchalant manner in which this Bill is presented to this House is clear to everybody. The Honourable the Defence Secretary on behalf of Government says, "I move that the Bill be taken into consideration", and, then, "I move that it be passed". Surely, I do not want really to go into the actual sections, but I do appeal to Mr. Boyle, and if I can convince him, I hope I am not appealing to him in vain, that he is free to walk into the lobby with me — I see I do not get an answer from him.

**Mr. J. D. Boyle**: I do mean to cross swords with a clever cross-examiner.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I only appeal to the European Group

that if I can convince them and if they think I am right, then walk with me into the lobby. I am sure, my friend, Mr. Boyle, will have the sense of fair play. Otherwise you create an impression that you have spoken beforehand without being consulted, and that whatever the Government bring up before this House, well, your support is taken for granted, – except of course, when your interests are concerned. Even then they may sacrifice, but they make a bargain. When it comes right up to the neck, they make a bargain. I do appeal to him that here is the test, and I hope he will consider it. I do think that Mr. Boyle has not really applied his mind to the clauses of the Bill. These forces are not in existence to begin with. Who will create these forces? The Governor General in Council. Who will lay down the rules? The Governor General in Council. We know nothing about them.

**An Honourable Member**: Who else?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I will give you the reply with great pleasure. Apart, from my fundamental objection, namely, that the Naval forces and the Reserve forces will be under the control of the Admiralty and the British Government under the Parliamentary Statute, I would have certainly expected the Government, if they wanted to create these forces, to put before the House a definite scheme of those forces and to take this House into their confidence. They ought to have told us that these are the Reserve forces that they wish to create and these are the rules that they propose to frame, and then they could have got their whole scheme ready. That would have been a justificable course for them to adopt. They could then have come up with a Bill saying that now that we have placed our cards on the table for the creation of forces that we want, here are the rules which we propose to frame for the purpose of their discipline. I admit that every organisation must be regulated by some disciplinary rules. But Mr. Ogilvie, the Defence Secretary, has not given us the slightest inkling of any kind, and the only

thing we are asked — and I say this to the Honourable Member who put the question to me — is to definitely provide for penalties, and nothing else. If a man enlists himself as a reserve, and if he does not answer the call, he is to be fined Rs.200. If a man has enlisted himself as a reserve, and, then, when called upon for active service, he does not respond, then he gets an imprisonment of two years. That is the whole of this Bill. There is nothing else in it. I can only say that it is only in this country that a Government can act like this. There is no question of details about this Bill at all. That is the true position.

Now, a word about the attitude of this Government. Sir, I do not wish to make complaints that the Government have misbehaved in this direction or that direction. That is the every day occurrence, and what is the use of my trotting out instances of that kind. I am glad that my Honourable friend, Sir Raza Ali, who has come back to us after a long absence, appreciates our troubles which we have been suffering from for a long time. Therefore, it is not possible for us to give our support to this Bill. It may be that our grounds are different from some other Groups of Parties in this House, but the conclusion is the same.

May I point out, in conclusion, that in this House Government have 25 official Members in the first instance. It is the easiest Party to run, because they have no soul and they have no voice. They are simply to obey the orders. Therefore, it is the easiest Party to run. Then, we have got another Group which sits next to Government, the Nominated Honourable Members. I sometimes feel sorry for them, but they also are tied down simply because they look upon the Government as their constituency.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: Except one.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am not talking of exceptions now. I

am talking generally. Perhaps he is under less restraint than the others; he is a little more bold than the others. He can always take shelter under this that he represents labour. But it is, in fact, true that they are entirely under the Whip of the Government. And then comes the next Group, whom you have not even to consult. They are always ready to support you except when the shoe pinches at home.

**Mr. F.E. James** (Madras: European): What about the next Group?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Let me finish.

Therefore, you have straightaway a solid Party which is the easiest Party to manage of at least 50 Members. Now, is it not an irony of fate that on a vital and important matter like this Government cannot win over any other decent section, or a Group from elected Members on this state of the House? All I can say is this: carry on, carry on.

*Legislative Assembly Debates, 1939,*
*Vol:I, pp. 82, 307, 374, 380-83.*

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## 268

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Railway Budget-Demand for Railway Board", New Delhi, February 20, 1939.

**The Honourable Sir Thomas Stewart:** Sir, I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs.9,40,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1940, in respect of the 'Railway Board'."

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,40,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1940, in respect of the 'Railway Board'."

**Long-range Policy regarding Railway Finance.**

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Railway Board' be reduced by Rs. 100"— (To censure the Government for their failure to evolve and follow a long-range policy regarding Railway finance).

Sir, I take it that my Honourable friend has full notice of the purposes of this motion. Perhaps this is the last Railway Budget which may come before this House, if the claims of the "astrologers" ever bear fruition but it is possible that Federation may not come and the Federal Railway Authority may not come.....

. . . . . .

**Sir Thomas Stewart**:.....The House will have a full opportunity of considering that at a later date and I suggest therefore that the present motion should not be supported.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: May I ask one question, whether these changes will be laid before the House in the shape of a Resolution and whether the Government will accept the decision of the House?

**The Honourable Sir Thomas Stewart**: I say that the Government of India will have to apply themselves to a consideration of what they will have to do, but certainly that must be put before the House.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: May I ask, if he will permit me, Sir, whether Government undertake here and now to place before the House before the 1st April, 1940, a considered Resolution on the future of railway finance, and will they undertake to abide by the verdict of this House?

**The Honourable Sir Thomas Stewart**: I can go no further than what I have said.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): May I ask one question to enable me to decide how I should vote? The question was put in double-barrelled fashion. I want to know whether the Government are going to put their proposals in regard to this convention before the expiration of this moratorium. I am not dealing here with whether they will abide by the decision of this House or not.

**The Honourable Sir Thomas Stewart**: Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The question is: "That the demand under the head'Railway Board' be reduced by Rs.100."

The motion was negatived.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1939, Vol.I, pp. 1164, 1190.*

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## 269

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the motion regarding "Inadequate Representation of Muslims in Railway Services", New Delhi, February 22, 1939.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani** (Trihut Division: Muhammadan:) Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Railway Board' be

reduced by Rs.100." — (To discuss inadequate representation of Muslims in Railway Services).

Last year, on this very day and in this very month, I moved a cut motion and tried to lay before the House the pitiable condition of the Mussalmans in the Railway Services. This year, also, it has fallen to my lot to move the same cut. Before I proceed with the matter and prove that the Mussalmans have to suffer all round, I am beset with two difficulties. The first is, that we are not supplied with the railway publication on the pretext that it is priced publication.....The other thing that I wish to mention is that a new way has been invented by the Railway Board of taking out percentages in services. If you will refer to page 95 of the Railway Administration Report, Volume I, you will find that the total appointments made in the superior service were 47 of which nine went to Muslims and the percentage is said to be 22.5 per cent., but any mathematician of ordinary merit can say that it is not 22.5 per cent, but it is only 19.14 per cent. In this way the Muslims are dodged.

While moving my cut motion last year, I showed to the House that the Muslims would take ninety years to secure their quota of 25 per cent in higher services and 105 years in subordinate services. Upon this the Honourable the Railway Member, who, to my great pleasure, is going to take charge of the special responsibility of the Governor of Bihar, where Muslim lives have become a source of trouble and burden, got much excited and said that the Government of India never undertook to wave their magic wand and evict the other communities and replace all of them by Muslims. Nobody wanted him to do so. But did he ever take into his head that this is India and that he should cry halt in importing foreigners from his own country? Did he budge an inch on the question of Indianisation? No, Sir. The position of Europeans in railway services is still 51.2 per cent. What is the position of Muslims? None practically. If you will compare the figures for 1925, 1937

and 1938 as laid down in the Railway administration report, you will find that in the superior services of the state-managed railways the percentage of Muslims, in 1925, was 3.47, in 1937 it was 6.97 and in 1938 it was 7.24 per cent. In company-managed railways, it was in 1925, 1.12 per cent., in 1937, it was 5.01 and in 1938, it was 5.86 per cent. If you add these figures, you get a total percentage in 1925 of 2.44 per cent., in 1937, 6.10 per cent, and in 1938, 6.61 per cent. Thus, you will find that it will take more than eighty years to complete the quota for Muslims in railway services, even on a population basis. Now, Sir, if you will take the case of subordinate railway services, you will find that in State-managed railway services, the representation of Muslim percentage in 1925, was 3.74 per cent., in 1937, it was 6.86 and in 1938, 7.15 per cent. In company-managed railways, in 1925, it was 1.82 per cent., in 1937, 3.16 per cent., and in 1938 it was 3.15 per cent. If you take the total of the two you will find that the Muslim percentage in the services in 1925 was 3.07 per cent., in 1937, it was 5.61 per cent, and in 1938, it was 5.8 per cent. Thus if you will calculate, you will find that instead of 105 years, it will take 120 years to complete the quota for Muslim representation in the subordinate railway services. This is really a pitiable case. The position of Muslims in railway services is going from bad to worse.

Now, Sir, let me discuss the representation of Muslims in various grades of railway services. If you will refer to the railway administration report, on pages 155-64, you will find (1) that in superior services, above Rs. 250, the position of Muslims in 1937-38 is that out of a total 1,769, there were 117 Muslims and that gives a percentage of 6.6.

(2) In subordinate services, up to Rs.250 or in the grade of Rs.250, the total number is 7,666 and out of which Muslims are 445 and this gives a percentage of 5.8. If you take the total, which is 9,435, the Muslims get 562 or 5.9 per cent.....

.....

**The Honourable Sir Thomas Stewart** (Member of Railway and Communications).....I feel I am fully justified in asking the Muslim League Party who have sponsored this cut motion to withdraw it.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I have listened to the speech of the Honourable Member on behalf of the Government with very great attention. He has himself admitted that in one year, at any rate, for whatever reasons, his obligation was not fulfilled according to the Resolution. I quite see that Government have got to fulfil their obligations embodied in the Resolution of 1934. But in response to his appeal that we should not press this motion to a division, I would tell him this that just as he said that there is a very great anxiety on the part of the Muslim League Party that a matter of this kind should be reported so that my Honourble friend's successor — he is going to leave us very soon in a higher position — may see that there is a landmark left for him on the records of this House at any rate, emphasising the anxiety on the part of the Muslim League Party and the community behind it.

Now, Sir, normally, the Honourable Member may be entitled to say that they have done their best. We say: "Yes, you have done a good deal, but do your very best and allay the anxiety and see that for no reason whatever in any single year hereafter the 25 per cent ratio is not maintained." I quite agree that technically this cut motion is a motion of censure on Government. But I want to assure the Government like anybody else who wants the Government really to do its best that it is not intended that we should pass a vote of censure on him. Sir, it reminds me of what a Home Member once said in this House. He said that if you live in a ford, you cannot afford to make enemies of crocodiles. As I am living in a ford, I cannot afford to make enemies of the crocodile. Nevertheless, I regret that I cannot advise my Party to withdraw this motion. Let it be placed

on the record as a landmark or, if I may say so as a beacon light for the successor of Sir Thomas Stewart who is very shortly going to leave us and I wish him God-speed in his higher position. I must also state that Sir Thomas Stewart was absent at one stage of the debate on this motion and it is entirely my fault. It was very kind of him really that he should have come out into the lobby at my request, because I wanted really to learn from him as to what the position was. I am not well-versed in this question, and I am not in a position, therefore, to express any opinion except a general opinion. That is all that I have to say to the Government.

I regret very much, indeed, that Bhai Parma Nand should have introduced those old hackneyed slogans and phrases which are devoid of facts. We must look at the realities, and so long as we do not realise the realities and the actualities, believe me, you are blocking the progress of India. It is no use saying, although it may be a noble ideal, that we should endeavour to become one nation. India is not a nation. India is a State of nationalities, communities, castes and creeds, and under the present circumstances it will be a folly to ignore those realities.

**Bhai Parma Nand**: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I did not say anything against the view of the Muslim League Party. I simply stated the conditions as they were.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am entirely supporting the conditions as they are, and I only want the Honourable Member for whom I have a personal regard to realise them. I also want this great organisation of the Congress Party to realise this fact. I do not know what has happened to them today, because they have remained dumb up to this time. They think that they are above everything in this world. They think that this is a communal question.

**Mr. K. Santhanam** (Tanjore cum Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): You are making friends with the

crocodile.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: It seems to me that you are crocodile, and you want everybody to obey you, not only to make friends with you.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar** (Law Member): The Crocodile is shedding tears.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Sir, over a question of this character I do not wish really to enter into bigger issues. This is not the occasion, nor is it the place to enter into bigger issues. The simple question is this. Today a cut motion is moved in order to put pressure upon the Government that they should as quickly as possible adhere to the limit of 25 per cent. Our anxiety is that the Government may slacken, and we want, therefore, to put it on record that you have tried to do much, but now do your best and you should live up to at least the 25 per cent quota for which you have pledged yourself.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Sir, I had no intention of speaking at all on this motion but for the provocation, if I may use that word with all respect to my distinguished and esteemed friend, the Leader of the Muslim League Party. We, Congressmen, are very human, as human as my friend and every other Honourable Member of this House. We are above nothing. We want to attain the freedom of the country at the quickest pace and at the earliest possible moment, and for that purpose we want the cooperation of all friends, including the distinguished Leader of the Muslim League Party. Therefore, let there be no misunderstanding about our silence on this matter.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: From the mere fact that the Honourable Member says that he is the only party who want to attain the freedom of this country as quickly as possible, does he mean to say that he has the monopoly of that ideal?

**Mr. S. Satymaurti**: I did not say so. I do not expect Mr.

Jinnah to misunderstand me like that. He is far too shrewd a parliamentarian to misunderstand me.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: We all want to do that.

. . . . . .

**Prof. N. G. Ranga** (Guntur cum Nellore: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What is the Honourable Member talking about?

**Mr. Satyamurti**: Nothing except his usual attack on the Congress his old game!

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: Whether it is a poor game or a proper game or an old game, or a game at all, my Honourable friend's decision is not final. I should like to know why my Honourable friend did get up to speak. I think the position had been made clear by the Leader of the Muslim League Party that he merely wanted to keep this protest on record and that he did not intend the motion to be one of censure on the Government. What was the issue on which my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, got up to speak.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Guilty conscience.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: The lion and the lamb in the same camp.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: Now that I have got a correct answer to the only question to which I wanted an answer. I will not take up any more time of the House.

**Mr. President**: (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

"That the demand under the head 'Railway Board' be

reduced by Rs.100."

The motion was adopted.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1939*
*Vol. II, pp. 1316-17, 1347-49, 1351.*

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## 270

### Satement condoling the death of Lord Brabourne, New Delhi, February 23, 1939

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, said that he was extremely sorry to receive the sad news of Lord Brabourne's sudden death.

Mr. Jinnah who knew Lord Brabourne since the first Round Table Conference and afterwards as Governor of Bombay, said that he always found him a fine and courteous gentleman with whom, as time went on, he enjoyed relations which were almost those of personal friendship. As a Governor, Lord Brabourne was always extremely tactful and both in Bombay and Bengal he made more friends than enemies. One always had the deepest respect for his point of view whether one agreed with him or not, because he would always urge his views frankly and freely. Mr. Jinnah added that his deepest sympathy went out to Lady Brabourne in her bereavement.

*The Star of India, February 24, 1939*

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## 271

### The Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Indian Patent and Designs (Amendment) Bill", New Delhi, February 27, 1939.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** (Member for Commerce and Labour): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the law relating to the protection of Inventions and Designs, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration".

Sir, it would perhaps help Honourable Members in the consideration of the Bill if I were to give them the previous history of the law relating to the protection of inventions and designs. The Indian Patents and Designs Act, 1911, came into force from the 1st January, 1912, when it replaced the Inventions and Designs Act, 1888. The existing act is largely based on the United Kingdom Patents and Designs act, 1907, with certain additions and alterations suited to Indian conditions.....

. . . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, before you adjourn the House for Lunch, I wish to draw the attention of the Leader of the House to one thing which I represented to him, namely, that tomorrow is a day of mourning, and it is not possible for Muslim Members to participate in the business set down for tomorrow. Therefore, I have requested him, if he could possibly oblige by not taking up any business tomorrow.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Why was not this mentioned before?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: My attention was drawn to it only yesterday.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What the Chair means to say is that it ought to have been found out long before that today was the eight day of Muharram it is highly inconvenient to dislocate the whole business.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I understand that it is only two days ago that these public holidays were declared in Delhi.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair understands that in Delhi the eighth day of Muharram is always observed as a local holiday.

**Mr. Asif Ali** (Delhi: General): The tenth day is supposed to be the last day.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): So far as the observance of holidays is concerned, the practice has always been that we proceed by the list of holidays in Delhi. So far as the Chair is concerned, it is not prepared to add to that list. The eighth day of Muharram has always been declared a holiday. If that is so, the Chair cannot understand why this was not discovered before and mentioned in the House when the business of the House was arranged.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar** (Leader of the House): May I point out, Sir, that the Chair seems to be under some misapprehension. What has happened is this. It is only on the 22nd of this month that the list of gazetted holidays was changed and not before. Now, at the present moment 28th has been declared a holiday.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: It was due to the earlier appearance of the moon.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Why was it not mentioned before?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I do not wish to pretend that there is no delay on our part. There is a certain amount of delay, I

admit. As you know, Sir, these matters filter down gradually and a few days were lost. I quite agree that we could have drawn the attention of the Chair as well as the Leaders of Parties and Government earlier. Frankly speaking, the delay is there. It is after all only a delay of a few days. If we had been more active we could have brought this thing to the notice of the House earlier.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the entire House agrees, what the Chair is prepared to do is to direct that there shall be no sitting of the Assembly tomorrow.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I consulted the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Congress Party. I had no time to consult the Leader of the Congress Nationalist Party and the Leader of the European Group. I had just time to mention it only to the Leader of the House and I consulted my Honourable friend, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, just now.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Budget has to be presented tomorrow and this has been fixed by the Governor General, and the Chair cannot alter that.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: That also, I understand, the Government are prepared to adjust.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** (Finance Member): Let me make the position clear so far as the Budget is concerned. The actual presentation of the Budget on the 28th February cannot be stopped. In view of the various concomitant arrangements which have had to be made all over India, the date of presentation of the Budget cannot be altered at such short notice. What I understand was the desire, or what was conveyed to me, as the desire of the Muslim League Party was that the ordinary day's business should be postponed for tomorrow, that the general discussion of the budget should start on 3rd March and be finished on 7th March and that the business which is to be postponed should be taken up on the 8th March.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Is it desired to have a meeting on the 3rd?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg**: That was the suggestion conveyed to me. If there is any suggestion of the actual postponement of the budget and the Finance Bill, that with the best desire in the world as absolutely impossible.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I certainly would not have mentioned this matter but the Leader of the House assured me that even the presentation of the budget can be adjusted.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: I meant the general discussion and in fact I may tell my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah, that this matter was brought to my notice really by Dr. Ziauddin. He was pressing it day before yesterday and I got a telephone message from him in which he said that if necessary his Party would not mind sitting at 5 o'clock for a short time for the purpose of the budget. I think my friend will bear me out.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the House so desire, the Chair will direct that there will be no sitting of the House till 5 o'clock tomorrow and at 5 o'clock the House will meet for the presentation of the budget.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: Then is it to be a condition that we have to meet on the 3rd? In that case the residual business of the House is such.....

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: The whole trouble is due to the fact that owing to the moon becoming visible a day earlier than compilers of diaries and calendars had fixed the *ashura*, i.e., the tenth day of Muharram now falls on the second instead of on the third; and therefore if the 8th, 9th and 10th days of Muharram are to be holidays they must be on the 28th February and 1st and 2nd March. Therefore, the 3rd becomes an ordinary working day. That is why the suggestion was made that if no official business is to be

transacted tomorrow the general discussion might take place on the 3rd and 7th instead on the 7th and 8th, and the 8th would then become residual for official business. Otherwise there is no excuse for not sitting on the 3rd which is an ordinary working day.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: The third has been already declared to be a *dies non* and we cannot agree to the change.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair does not know if Government will agree that there should be no sitting on the 3rd.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: We are already a little late and if you will please give us time till 2.45 p.m. we can have another talk and see if we can compose our differences.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I do not think any useful purpose will be served and I do ask Government not to press for a sitting on the third.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: We will not press it if the House does not want it.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I take it that tomorrow no official business will be done except the presentation of the budget.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: It is not necessary to mention the matter again. I have said that I am not pressing my point with regard to the third.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Then there will be no meeting on the 3rd.....

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1939,*
*Vol: II, 1529, 1533-35.*

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## 272

### Statement regarding participation of the members of the League in Jamat-i-Ulema Hind Conference, New Delhi, March 1, 1939.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly has issued the following statement:

"I am informed by some prominent members of the Muslim League that the organisers of the Jamait-i-Ulema Hind approached them to attend their conference which is to take place on March 2,3,4 and 5 in Delhi. Further, a report in the press that invitations have been issued to prominent members of the Muslim League and myself has been brought to my notice, and, therefore, I am obliged to make the position clear.

"I hope that no member of the Muslim League will have anything to do with this conference because their policy and activities have been hostile and destructive towards the All-India Muslim League. These few individuals who are using the name of Jamait-i-Ulema are in my opinion, doing the greatest possible harm not only to their community but to the country at large.

"They are one of the causes of the tension and bitterness that exist between the Hindus and Mussalmans to-day and in no small degree are the obstacles in the way of the achievement of an honourable understanding between the two communities. I still appeal to them to rally round the Muslim League flag which is the only authoritative and representative political organisation of the Mussalmans of India."(A.P.)

*Civil & Military Gazette, March 2, 1939.*

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## 273

### Statement announcing the names of the League Working Committee members, New Delhi, March 16, 1939

The nomination of Begum Muhammad Ali to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is announced today by Mr. Jinnah in a statement to the Press. Mr. Jinnah says:

"I feel that it will not be in the interest of the Muslim League organization to reshuffle and reconstitute the personnel of the present Working Committee. But, as there has occurred one vacancy owing to the unfortunate death of Maulana Shaukat Ali, I propose to fill his place by nominating Begum Muhammad Ali.

"Apart from her great services, and those of Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali, I think the time has come when it is necessary to have one who could represent also the views of the women of India, and their wants and requirements in the national life of the Mussalmans.

The Committee will now be as follows:

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Mr. Khaliquzzaman, Syed Abdul Aziz, Mr. Muhammad Ashik, Sir Ali Muhammad Khan Dehlavi, Sir Currimbhoy Embrahim, Syed Abdul Rauf Shah, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Malik Barkat Ali, Haji Abdul Sattar Essak Sait, Sir Abdoola Haroon, Mr. Sheikh Abdul Majid, Mr. Khan Saadulla Khan, M.L.A., Mr. Aurangzeb Khan, M.L.A., Sir Syed Saddulla, Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury, and Begum Muhammad Ali. (A.P.)

*The Statesman, March 17, 1939*

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## 274

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Indian Finance Bill", New Delhi, March 22, 1939

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The House will now consider the Finance Bill clause by clause.

The question is:

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

**Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar** (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move:

"That in clause 2 of the Bill, the words 'and four annas' be omitted."

Sir year after year we are trying to reduce the excise duty on salt, and we have carried amendments to that effect year after year for a number of years, but this year we do not propose to reduce the duty. Amendment No.6 in the name of my friend, Mr. Satyamurti, sought to reduce the duty, but he has given up his attempt. The attempt which we seek to make by this amendment is that the duty, as prescribed by the Finance Bill, be reduced to Re.I.....

. . . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I have taken the course of intervening in this debate early, because I want to clarify the position of the Muslim League Party, and I hope that you will give me permission if I depart, strictly speaking, from the amendment before the House. This is not the only amendment that the House will have to deal with. According to the Bill, we have before us, embodied in the Finance Bill, five items: the salt duty, the excise duty on sugar,

the import duty on raw cotton, the inland postage rates, and income-tax and super-tax. Sir, I cannot possibly approve of the budget as it has been presented to us, because we have no lot or share in it. If I had any lot or share in the budgetary proposals, then I might have, or we might have, constructed the Budget on a different footing. But here we have the entire Budget presented to this House, and now, at present, we are only considering whether you can make amendments to the taxation proposed or for the reduction of taxation. Now, Sir, the position of the All-India Muslim League Party in this House is a very peculiar one. Fortunately or unfortunately, we hold the balance in the House. If we are supporting the Government, then I think the Finance Member can safely pilot this Bill to his satisfaction and he can carry this Bill without a comma of it being altered; and he naturally would plead before this House and plead before my Party that we should support it.

Sir, in the past we have been following the principle that if the Government brought in a measure which was really for the good of the people, then we would support it. If it was not in the interests of the people we would oppose it. But, Sir, I see now that that policy must be altered. It really means this, that we are reduced to this position. When the Congress is right "support the Congress." When the Government is right, "support the Government." But when we are right, nobody supports us! Sir, we feel, therefore, and I want to ask the Government — what has been your policy? What has been your attitude? And what have been your actions so far as my Party is concerned? I am glad that the Finance Member in his long speech said, "Remember Cawnpore, remember Benares, remember Budaun," but I can tell this House that there are many other places in this country where even the elementary rights of Muslims have been trampled upon, — and what have the Government done? I remember reading, Sir, not long ago, a speech made by Mr. Vallabhai Patel in which he said:

"There cannot be any basis for all these allegations, for all these complaints of ill-treatment, injustice, tyranny and persecution. The simple reason is that if there was any such thing, surely the Governor would have intervened."

And I think Mr. Bhulabhai Desai very recently made a speech and he relied upon the same argument, *viz.*, that "if, there was an iota of truth in this baseless allegations that we were making, surely the Governors would not have been sitting tight and would have immediately intervened." Therefore, because the Governors have not intervened, my Honourable friend is satisfied...

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: On a point of order: Sir, I would like to know if this speech is germane to the amendment that is before the House?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) If the Chair understood the Honourable member correctly, he was going to justify the action of his Party in dealing with this matter on the general political ground.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: That is right.

Instead of making several speeches, I want to lay down in one speech the policy and the attitude of our Party with regard to this Finance Bill. I am rather surprised that the Honourable member should have really interrupted me, because I think it might be admitted that I am one of those members who take the least amount of the time of this House. And I am not in the habit of speaking on every question whether I understand it or I do not understand it.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: I wanted to understand the legal aspect of the point.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: You have understood it now. I am

glad the Honourable member has learnt to-day something.

Sir, I was saying that that is the position, — and now, what about Palestine? What about Waziristan? What about Jaipur? Where is the Paramount Power?

**Bhai Parmanand** (*West Punjab*: *Non-Muhammadan*): Hyderabad also.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: You define the attitude of your Party when your turn comes: I am defining the attitude of my Party. What about Jaipur? Seventeen Muslims were shot down like dogs, and we have information, and we believe that information until it is proved to the contrary, that the fire was opened without any warning and without any justification. Where is the Paramount Power? What is the Paramount Power doing? I am not asking that you should intervene for the purpose of putting pressure upon the Indian states or to force them into undertaking "constitutional reforms,"— but this is a fundamental and basic principle of maintaining civilised administration. Is this fair-play and justice done to the elementary rights of citizens? Sir, I can give instances after instances, but I do not want to waste the time of the House and, besides, this is not the occasion for it. Why do you expect us, I ask the Government, to draw the chestnuts out of the fire on your behalf? Why do you expect us to continue to be subservient on the specious pleas which you put forward before us? We have, therefore, so far as the Government are concerned, made up our mind that we will render no assistance to you so far as this Finance Bill is concerned. You may go on your own way. On the other hand, as regards the Congress Party, I do not want on this occasion to go into details, but I do maintain that the Congress Party is not only hostile to the Muslim League but they are inimical. Therefore, I say to them that co-operation between you and us is not possible. But they will say: "All right, we are the largest number here." Yes you may be the largest number; you may be

more advanced; you may be stronger economically, and you may think that the counting of heads is the final judgment. But let me tell you — and I tell both of you — that you alone or this organisation alone or both combined will never succeed in destroying our souls. You will never be able to destroy that culture which we have inherited, the Islamic Culture, and that spirit will live, is going to live and has lived. You may overpower us; you may oppress us; and you can do your worst. But we have come to the conclusion and we have now made a grim resolve that we shall go down, if we have to go down, fighting. Therefore, the position is this. I make this protest as a first step, — a solemn protest, a declaration on the floor of the House as to what our attitude is with regard to this Finance Bill. Our hearts are singed and burnt; our blood is boiling; we shall suffer and we shall go through fire. The attitude that we are going to take is this. We are not going to move any amendment. Do what you like with your Bill. We are not going to support any amendment moved by the Congress Party or any other Party. Possibly, the result of it would be that the Government will be defeated and the Congress will win, because, I know, they have got a sufficient majority if we remain neutral as we are going to remain neutral. But I tell my Congress friends that your victory will not go beyond the little room called the lobby. If you have any sense of satisfaction in having won, you may have it. Your true victory and your real victory will be when you will stretch your hand across and remove the barrier between this Party and that Party. Therefore, we have definitely decided not to vote for any of the amendments by whomsoever moved. We are not going to support the Government, because the British Government has failed even to secure us our elementary rights of citizenship, and those special powers which were assumed under the guise of the Governors and the Governor-General being the protectors and the trustees of minorities have proved to be a fraud, worse than a fraud. I myself, therefore, do not wish to take any further part in this debate. But it is open to the members of my Party that

they can freely express their opinion as to the merits of the amendments for the purpose of enlightening the Finance Member of the Government of India. As far as the Finance Bill is concerned, it is his and of the Congress Party. You take the responsibility and do what you like with it.

**Bhulabhai J. Desai**: I also agree that it is not mere question of getting majority, because my Honourable friend or his colleagues have decided to refrain from voting.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: That is exactly what we have done to-day.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1939, Vol.III, pp. 2554, 2560-63.*

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## 275

### Speech at the Meerut Divisional Muslim League Conference, Merrut, March 25, 1939.

Mr. Jinnah made a brief speech in Urdu at the Meerut Divisional Muslim League conference.

Mr. Jinnah began by saying that Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan was not an extremist and had until recently believed in working with the British and the Hindus. Similarly, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan was of the conservative school of thought and came of a Nawab family. What then were the forces at work which had brought about this change in the mentality of these two men?

During the last two years, he said, Muslims had been made to realize that the Congress was trying to perpetrate a big political fraud. The Muslim League members were still called communalists because they were not prepared to fall into the

trap set for them by the Congress. The Muslims were told by certain interested persons that they should not oppose the Congress which was working for the uplift of the poor and was devoting itself to solving the problem of the bread for the masses. Was it really the object of the Congress to liberate the people? (Cries of "No, no.").

The Muslims had now seen what atrocities were being wrought on them in the Congress provinces. It was to be regretted that even now there were some amongst the Muslims who were in favour of their unconditionally joining the Congress.

Referring to the interview which the special corespondent of the *New York Times* recently had with Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah said that the Mahatma had said in answer to the correspondent's questions, that the Congress had not yet decided whether, firstly, they would accept dominion status, and, secondly whether they would support the British Government in case of war.

"What did this imply? asked Mr. Jinnah.

"Further, in one of his recent statements Gandhiji had admitted that the Congress had entered into an alliance with the British Government. Should it then lie in th mouths of Congressmen to say that the Muslim League w an ally of the British Government?"

**"False Propaganda"**

Mr. Jinnah exhorted his audience not to be led astray by the false propaganda of the Congress. He assured them that if they united and organized themselves, no power on earth would be able to crush them or their organization *i.e.*, the Muslim League.

Pressed to add a few words in English, Mr. Jinnah said that it was presumably the intelligentsia that spoke English.

Addressing the intelligentsia, therefore, he impressed upon them that it was from their ranks that the leaders and officers of their organization must come. Throughout the world it was the intelligentsia that was providing the leadership and drive of great movements. But he warned that they must be prepared to make every sacrifice to establish and maintain their solidarity. His message to them was:-

"Be prepared to sacrifice anything and everything rather than sacrifice a hair of your national community." (A.P.I.)

*The Hindustan Times, March 27, 1939.*

The *Deccan Times* adds :-

*The audience of about 5,000 men — most of them kisans and labourers — applauded Mr. Jinnah loudly. A section of the great pandal, in which the conference was held, was curtained off with semi-transparent cloth. Behind the curtain stood women and children, and every now and then their shrill applause could be heard, above the bass voices of the men.*

*The Deccan Times, April 2, 1939*

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## 276

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the motion regarding "The Indo-British Trade Agreement", New Delhi, March 28, 1939

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan** (Member for Commerce and Labour): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Assembly approves the Trade Agreement signed on the 20th March, 1939, between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of

India".

Sir, I feel I owe a word of explanation to the House as to the time occupied by the negotiations that have resulted in this trade agreement. It was almost exactly three years ago that this House passed a Resolution asking the Government to give notice of termination of the Ottawa Agreement and to start negotiations for the conclusion of a fresh agreement. In pursuance of that Resolution notice of termination was given. A panel of unofficial advisers was constituted and Government began to examine the question in detail with the help of the unofficial advisers. But a detailed examination of the varied and complex questions that arose for settlement made it clear very early that the negotiations would take longer than Government had anticipated. Honourable Members will perhaps realise, during the course of the debate, the wideness of the range and complexity of the questions that arose for settlement, and, I am sure, they will appreciate that the search for a basis of settlement over that wide range, which should be satisfactory to both countries so as to induce them to accept it, required a great deal of time.

. . . . . .

**Sir H. P. Mody**..... The position as I see it is that, provided Lancashire is willing to pay the penalties, she need not consume more than 400,000 bales in the first two years, and more than 450,000 bales in the final year of the agreement. This, Sir, will be position which will emerge.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): What is the penalty?

**Sir H. P. Mody**: The penalty is that for every 50,000 bales or part thereof, short of the stipulated quantities in the agreement, Lancashire's sending are to be rated up by 25 million yards.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Who will benefit by it?

**Sir H. P. Mody**: That I shall presently show. I desire it to be clearly understood that I am not over-stating the case, but I am, from such experience as I have, putting before the House what I regard as the probabilities of the matter. What might happen then would be this. That Lancashire could send in the piecegoods in year 1939-40 as much as 450 million yards at a basic duty of 15 per cent., and in return for that she need not buy more than 400,000 bales. I have calculated this out and I.....

. . . . . .

**Mr. F. E. James**:.....the import of textiles from Lancashire would remain during the three years at a fixed figure of 350 million yards which would in the three years be subjected to reduced import duties, and that the offtake of cotton into the United Kingdom from India would remain substantially the same. Does he not realise that the basis of any trade agreement is the mutual expansion of exports and that Lancashire will endeavour to increase her imports into this country and if she succeeds she is under guarantee to take a larger portion of Indian cotton?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: There is no guarantee.

**Mr. F. E. James**: I shall come to Mr. Jinnah later.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am only correcting you.

**Mr. F. E. James**: I shall come to that point later.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Why not now?

**Mr. F. E. James**: Then, my Honourable friend spoke of the profits of the mill industry. As a matter of fact, for one who has been getting one per cent, on his capital for some years, he has been doing remarkably well.....

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: ..... They call it a mutual agreement. Well, if that is mutuality, then the word must have lost its significance. In other words you want 'Heads I win, tails you loose'. That is the kind of mutuality which they have got. The position is an extremely simple one. The word 'goodwill' is frequently trotted out and goodwill does not exist where we have to be sacrificed. Goodwill comes in only as a phrase whenever an appeal is to be made to the poor masses.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: It is a dangerous word.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: It is a dangerous word, but it is insidiously used. It is meant by sincere people.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Question.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: Why do you question it when it is meant by sincere people. You cannot question a truism. It is meant by a sincere man, not a hypocrite.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Those who use that phrase always claim to be very sincere.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: Claiming is one thing, being is another. Anyway, it had nothing to do with my friend at all. I was merely referring to the goodwill mission of my friend, Mr. James.....

.....

**Mr. S. Aney**:.....There are two things as regards what has been done with regard to imports. The main point that has been stressed by the members of the unofficial Committee was this that they wanted United Kingdom imports to be reduced down for the purpose of preference to three crores from eighteen crores.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: And an offtake of cotton, — $7\frac{1}{2}$ million.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: In that portion I am particularly interested but I am trying to show the concessions which are before you.. ....

. . . . . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney**:.....In fact, I am not in a position to say that the short-staple cotton grower is held out any real hope at all. At least the wording leads us to that conclusion. It is very vague. That is a point which as a cotton grower I cannot ignore and I have to bring it to the notice of the Honourable Member who was responsible for concluding the treaty that it is the most unsatisfactory feature of this trade agreement.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: He has done that after having taken note of that point. You want him to take note of it again.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Yes, a man may fail once, he might succeed in his second attempt. I believe in the saying 'Try, try again.'.....

. . . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I certainly admire the incorrigible optimism of my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney. I think we have to understand the position in its proper bearings in this House. The first thing I would deal with is the constitutional position. What is the constitutional position of this House with regard to this Agreement? The Honourable Members will remember that when I had the honour of moving the amendment to terminate the Ottawa Agreement now three years ago I pointed out that this House was fully responsible and the Government was responsible to this House only for a number of hours until the Division was taken. After that, we do not know where the Government would be exactly. Anyhow after the termination notice, the Government started negotiating with the British Government.

Before I proceed further, I wish to record my sense of appreciation — and if I may say so, coming from my Party — to the Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, who is a Muslim and it may be said that I am flattering my own son. But I must endorse fully the congratulations that he has received from various quarters. There is not the slightest doubt that he has done his very best. But while we appreciate that, let us understand, even as Members of the Government or the Government of India as a whole, what is the constitutional position in which the Government of India stands. Because the consideration of this agreement entirely depends upon with what premises you start. If you start with the premise that we are a sovereign Government or even a dominion Government, — I use the world "Dominion" in its larger sense than it used to be understood before the Statute of Westminster, — then I can understand your starting with this premise. India, a sovereign country; India, a full-fledged dominion. I have no doubt that the Honourable Member, if he had been placed in that position, would have secured a better agreement than the present one. If you start with that premise, then you might say that this Agreement is not satisfactory, but you might as well say that this present constitution and the Government are not satisfactory. But it is there, it is staring us in the face and ruling the country. Then, from which premise do you start? If you start with the premise that, situated as we are, with all the difficulties that we are facing, on the whole, is this Agreement such that you should accept it or reject it? In an agreement or bargain like this, nobody can get 16 annas even if you were an independent sovereign country. Therefore, it depends entirely on how you approach this Agreement.

Now, Sir, constitutionally, to proceed further to deal with it, it is a very peculiar position in which we are placed. The Government of India have already notified that the Ottawa Agreement will come to an end by the 31st of this month. What

is to take its place? They say, this will take its place, on the first April. Therefore, I want Honourable Members to understand that so far as this Agreement is concerned it is a "*fait accompli*". And yesterday in the course of the debate a question was put to the Honourable the Commerce Member, as to whether he would abide by the verdict of this House. His answer was very clear, — it will receive all consideration. That is to say, if we accept this Agreement, well and good; if we do not, it comes into force on the first of April. And, that is what clause 16 of the Agreement says:

> "Pending the coming into force of the present agreement, the two Governments will apply its provisions as far as may be possible."

Therefore, it is a "*fait accompli*" and we are holding a post mortem examination. You may shed tears, you may rejoice, or do whatever you like. If I am right to this extent, what do Government want now, so far as my Party is concerned? What do you want us to do? My Party has got to consider the constitutional position and the political aspect of it. Next, we have to consider what Muslim interests are involved so far as this agreement goes. I do not thereby mean that I should be indifferent or hostile to Indian interests, generally, but I think, — to quote the words of the Leader of the Opposition, — we owe it to our constituencies to consider it from their point of view also. My Honourable friend said that he cannot forget the interests of the millowners of Ahmedabad.

**Mr. Bhulabahi J. Desai**: And the cotton growers of Gujarat.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Quite right; that is his constituency, and he has got to take their interests into account. Of course, it does not follow that for the sake of the millowners or even for the sake of the cotton growers of Gujarat the result of the interests of India are to be sacrificed. Certainly not, but where is

the interest of Muslims in this business, and how are we affected? That is one of the important factors that we have to take into consideration. Taking that into consideration, I find that to try and discover Muslim interests in this business is like searching for a needle in a haystack. The only Muslim name mentioned by anybody was that of Mr. Jamal Muhammad from Madras about hides and skins. Of course, in various other matters, they may be small interests. Here I beg to differ from my Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi. I think he was under a misapprehension; jute has nothing to do with the question; it is only manufactured jute.

**Sir Abdur Halim Ghuznavi** (Dacca cum Mymensingh: Muhammadan Rural): And raw jute too.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No, that has nothing to do with it. I know it is very misleading and difficult, and you sometimes fall into the trap. But it is not raw jute, it is only manufactured jute with regard to which preference is given. No doubt, that is to a certain extent against the interests of Dundee, and I appreciate that. I do not say it is not advantageous. But what is the Muslim interest here? As far as I have been able to gather, Muslim interest is only on two main items, though there may be other small items. One is raw cotton which is the concern of the Punjab and Sindh and the other item is hides and skins. These are the two main things.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali**: And woollen carpets and rugs too.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No. In woollen carpets and rugs the Muslims are only wage-earners and not companies or manufacturers. It is very easy to be misled. That being so, I want to examine it from that point of view. Both Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Sir Homi Mody said that this was the last straw on the camel's back, namely, that you put a revenue duty on cotton a few days ago by the Finance Bill. Now, what is the last straw on my back?

What have you done for the cotton "*quid pro quo*" for the advantages conferred on Lancashire? It is much worse than the position we occupied without this Agreement. Hereafter Lancashire need not take more than 400,000 or 450,000 bales at the most. Whereas without this agreement offtake of cotton is nearly 500,000. That you will find from the official document, and I will read from the memorandum attached to this Agreement so that there may be no room for misunderstanding. This is what Government themselves say:

> "Thirdly, the scale of raw cotton exports prescribed under this Article takes full account of the recent increase in United Kingdom purchases. In the three years ending 1937-38, exports to the United Kingdom attained an average of 487,000 bales per annum. Under the Agreement the concession of reduced duty is liable to be withdrawn if in the first two cotton years exports amount to less than 400,000 bales" — (*So the sanction does not come in unless less than 400,000 bales a year are taken*) — "or if in any subsequent cotton year the total quantity of exports is less than 450,000 bales. The scale of raw cotton exports which regulates the duty chargeable on United Kingdom cotton piecegoods has been fixed at a much higher level and every inducement has been placed in the way of United Kingdom importers to increase their purchases to a figure exceeding 750,000 bales. These provisions are calculated to improve the demand for Indian raw cotton in the United Kingdom and are therefore of great potential value to India's cotton growers."

Potential value! When I corrected or rather interrupted my friend, Mr. James, when he spoke of a guarantee, I asked him where was the guarantee. Is it not rather abusing the English language to say that this is a guarantee? What is the guarantee, and where is the guarantee? Very often we have

agreements in Courts that if you do not do this or that, you have to pay so much of damages. What is the damage here? Increase of duty. Who would be damaged because Lancashire failed or committed default? Who suffers? The cotton grower. Who gets the benefit? The millowner. That is the compensation for the poor cotton grower. I have come to the conclusion that the poor cotton growers' interests have been treated with criminal negligence by the Government of India. I am not speaking only because a large body of them are Muslims: there are large bodies of Hindu cotton growers and others. Why do I say that? Because they have not got any organisation, because they have not got any one who can effectively screech for them, morning, evening and night. That is the position with regard to cotton. It has been pointed out – just imagine – that India grows 55 lakhs bales of cotton. What are they getting from Lancashire to relieve the overflow of cotton? Nothing. Less than what is normally being taken by them. The average for three years is shown as 4,87,000 bales: if the average of two years is taken, it comes to more than 500,000 bales. What are we getting under this Agreement? Potential value – Lancashire will take 400,000 or 450,000 bales. I know that some Muslims in the Punjab are under the impression that they have got a gold mine in this Agreement. Let me tell the Muslims of the Punjab and all my Muslim friends here, it is nothing but dust. It is to throw dust in their eyes for vote-catching purposes by pretending that they have come to the rescue of the agriculturists. We may be thought to be unsophisticated, untutored and illiterate; and although we are not all illiterate here, although we are not all untutored and we are not all sophisticated, some of us are able at least to understand the political language of the Government when we are told that there is some big concession being made to us. There is no concession. On the contrary, we are nowhere, and certainly no better off than we were before this Agreement which is an eye wash, and even the modest claim of cotton growers to guarantee offtake of at least 7½ laks of bales is

turned down.

Now, Sir, about hides and skins. The total trade of India in hides and skins has increased lately, but the main trade of hides and skins has been diverted to England, and I am glad that my friend, Mr. Nauman, explained that. This very stuff that goes to England, on which they give you preference, is distributed by England to other countries by means of credit facilities and so on. It is not your preference, because, you see the total is more or less the same, and it is diverted from France and from Germany and other places. What is the result, practically nil? Therefore, I do not know how you can say that anything is being done for this trade in which the Muslims are mostly interested. I say, the Mussalman is nowhere in this picture, so far as this Agreement is concerned.

Then, what do the Government want me to do now? What does my friend, Mr. James, want me to do? Mr. James paid me very high compliments in terms of a film star. What does he want me to do now? What did he want me to do last time? Has he read his own speech? He threatened me with dire consequences if we carried that Resolution terminating the agreement. Does he remember it?

He said:

> "Japan is ready with its knife: Great Britain would only be too glad to put an end to this: as she does not derive any benefit you will run the risk and the danger of losing even what you have got under Ottawa."

Has he read his speech? I can only compare him with Marlene Deitrich; he can only play a tragic part, and that is a tragedy. I did not follow him – I was not frightened.....

**Sir H. P. Mody**: Mae West!

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: It unnerved me for one moment but

somehow I said "No, I think I am right". Today what song is he singing? He says this is an enormous improvement on Ottawa. I was right, he was wrong.....

**Mr. F. E. James**: Now, I am right, and you are wrong.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I do not believe in your lead. That is the trouble. He says "Support this agreement". Why? It is a *fait accompli*. What do the Government want me to do? Today you are courting me; Government are also beckoning me. Cinderella is to be taken to the ball to have a round with the prince and promptly to be relegated to the kitchen. Greta Garbo is not going to be Cinderella: she is going to be a star artist. (Interruption.) Wait. You cannot go on like that and ask me to walk into your parlour, when it suits you. I say, this Agreement is a *fait accompli*. It has to come into force on the Ist of April. Whatever we may do, Government say: Cannot we find some scape-goat, somebody who could be made a tool of, so that we can say to this world that the House has accepted the Agreement? I refuse, Sir, to play that role. As I have described to you, that 95 per cent of the interest in this Agreement is that of the Hindu capitalists and non-Muslim capitalists. I do not grudge them. If they are right, let them flourish, and make more business. But this is a fight between British capitalists and mainly Hindu capitalists. They are represented by these Congress Benches. They are hand in glove with them. The Congress are speaking on their behalf. Why am I to tell them you must accept it although it depends how you look at this Agreement, from what point of view, with what basis they should start? In one spirit you might say, 'Well after all, if you resist, if you persist, you might lose the bargain,' and a less adventurous spirit might say, – "All right, I agree, this Agreement is certainly miles and tons better than Ottawa. But the Government have already made a gift to them by their attitude which is clear. Our benign Government, our parental Government, have announced that this Agreement is in the

interest of India, which means mainly the non-Muslims, the Hindus practically, and the Government tell them that they must accept it, but they say "We don't want it". Why should I go out of my way, get their curses and give them something which is good? They don't want it. But if it is not for their good they on the contrary say, the British have swindled them in this bargain. If it is a swindle, and that British have taken advantage of them, and so do our friends, the millowners, say, – you have swindled them. Then, may I know why I should support this swindle? What have you done for me? Therefore, Sir, it seems to me that if our Hindu friends have the courage, and they are willing to venture, they are willing to risk, why should we come in the way. Although in this case there is no risk, because, by now they know for certainty that this Agreement is going to be put into operation; so they are on the safe side if they reject it. It is the poor cotton growers who are going to be done in the eye, because provisions *re* offtake of cotton are a camouflage. Well, I wish that the Government, had decided that they will abide by the verdict of this House. They they would have thrown the real responsibility on those who are interested to the extent of 95 per cent in making up their mind and taking the consequences, and they would not have been obliged to ask me to vote and support them. Therefore, Sir, the position of the Muslim League in this matter is this. We do consider that this Agreement is a very great advance on the Ottawa Agreement. Our interest being infinitesimal, – and what little interest we have has been sacrificed absolutely, – we do not wish to be a party to force upon those who have 95 per cent interest in the Agreement which they say they don't want. And why are we to help Government, because, in my opinion, you are equally bad so far as we are concerned? Therefore, Sir, the position of my Party is, – "Well, settle the matter between yourselves, and I wish you luck." We propose to remain neutral.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**:

Sir, I have a variety of criticism of the Trade Agreement to meet in my reply. It is not the number of points to which criticism has been directed that bewilders me, it is the contradictions involved, sometimes in the speeches of the same Honourable Members, more often between the points of view of the same Parties in the House that are so bewildering. It is difficult to meet criticism of that kind. Let me give.....

.....

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:**

.....I shall now refer to one or two points in Mr. Jinnah's speech and then conclude. Mr. Jinnah said "Everybody has been talking of their particular interests: I shall look at this matter from my particular point of view, that is to say, how it will affect the Muslims". As representing the Muslims no doubt he was perfectly entitled to take that point of view. But what I am entirely unable to accept is this that in these matters you could separate the interests of different communities into watertight compartments; and I was rather surprised that a Leader of Mr. Jinnah's standing and ability should have put forward the point of view, that it is only certain commodities which are largely produced in areas where there is a preponderance of Muslims that the Muslims would be benefitted by it. No doubt they would be benefitted by an improvement in respect of those commodities. But I would go further and say that whatever helps the export trade of India confers benefits upon every section of the population of India.

Mr. Jinnah also took up two specific matters in connection with his thesis that Muslims are interested only in certain commodities. In regard to cotton I have already explained how the undertaking or arrangement or guarantee — call it whatever you like — will work. With regard to raw hides and skins I was frankly not able to follow Mr. Jinnah's argument. He said the trade with the United Kingdom has no doubt increased,

but because there is a preference there are large re-exports from the United Kingdom to Germany and France and, therefore, Germany and France instead of taking direct from us take from the United Kingdom, because the hides and skins go into the United Kingdom under preference: and, therefore, France and Germany get them cheaper from the United Kingdom than they could from us. But the trouble is that raw hides and skins enjoy no preference, and therefore, the whole of that argument falls to the ground. It may be a matter of astonishment to the Honourable Member but that is so....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am sorry that the Honourable Member, in his position wants to take advantage of technicalities. They enjoy free entry: that is the protection.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: That is a valuable concession. But the whole argument was based on the fact that they enjoyed a preference.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: It is a small point....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: It is part of the Agreement that the hides and skins have also got an advantage. If I used the word 'preference' it might have been a slip of the tongue. But it is enjoying a preference because it has got free entry. I hope you understand me now.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: I agree that it is after all one point in a long criticism but then I have to reply to what Honourable Members have said; and if the Honourable Member did not mean what he said I shall not pursue the matter.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Now, I am putting it to you.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**:

Sir, I will now conclude by saying that the Agreement must be taken as a whole.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1939, Vol: III*
*pp. 2826, 2945, 2956, 2976, 2979, 2981, 2983-87, 3001-02.*

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## 277

### Speech in reply to the addresses presented by the Kashmiri Students' Federation and the Rajputana Muslim Students' Federation, Aligarh, April 1, 1939

Addresses of welcome to Mr. Jinnah were presented by the Kashmiri Students Federation and the Rajputana Muslim Students' Federation. Making a joint reply to the addresses Mr. Jinnah said:

"The Rajputana Students had clearly stated in their address that their goal was complete national, cultural and political independence. A few days ago the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at Meerut had laid down our policy regarding Indian States, namely we advise the Muslims in the States to organize themselves and resist tyranny and the Muslim League would render every assistance to them wherever they may be. No geographical limits can divide the children of Islam. About our ideals there was no doubt now. But how are we going to achieve them? It is in the hands of the Muslims themselves. I am glad that they are realising it now. They must first grasp the fundamental principle of their existence and then back it up with all sacrifice.

**Lot of Kashmiris**

"I have been to Kashmir and have seen the miserable lot

of the Muslims. Some Muslim leaders specially Mr. Abdullah have been misled; they have fallen not into the hands of their friends but their foes just as many of our brethren in British India have fallen into the trap. Our first task is to rescue Muslims from falling into the clutches of their opponents. When you go to Kashmir ask your leader to spare the Muslim League and confine himself to the betterment of his own people. Many people who used to say that the Muslim League was in the wrong, today admit that it is right. I hope Mr. Abdullah for whom I have great respect, will also realise that we are right. We will help the Kashmiris but you must make the League stronger and avoid falling into the hands of our enemies. I am fully alive to the problem of Kashmir. I am sure with the co-operation of the Muslim League and the Muslims of Kashmir we shall yet rescue Kashmir.

**Rajputana Muslims**

"As for Rajputana I have already spoken. I want to assure my young friends that they must not be disheartened. See the history of the different nations of the world. Do you realise what other nations have sacrificed? What Sapin has gone through? Compare that to what we are suffering? I do not justify the tyrannies inflicted on you, but it is inevitable. I anticipated it. In my Lucknow speech, I warned the Muslims that if they wanted an honourable place they could not get it without making sacrifices. In the Great War, how many millions were killed. Sons of great Earls and Lords, men rolling in wealth, left their home and hearth and their beloved ones and went to the Front to fight for the honour of their country. It is through the crucible of sacrifice that you will get consolidated as a nation and win your independence. But we must go step by step. I don't want the Muslims to get excited all of a sudden. That is one of the things I want them to learn. I would rather take one step and stand solidly rather than take ten and then go back.

**Equip Yourselves**

"The methods of fight have to be regulated according to the time and the forces ranged against us. Learn and study and find your way out. Old weapons and old methods of attack are gone. Aeroplanes have now come and can destroy the mightiest fleet in no time. I ask the Muslims to study and find the latest methods and weapons of carrying on the fight and the struggle and success will be assured."(A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, April 8, 1939*

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## 278

### Statement replying to the criticisms made by several members in the Council of State on the attitude taken up by him on the Indo-British Trade Agreement, New Delhi, April 2, 1939.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah Leader of the Muslim Party in the Central Assembly, has issued a statement to the Associated Press, replying to the criticisms made by several members in the Council of State on the attitude taken up by him and his party on the Indo-British Trade Agreement:

"I have carefully read the speeches made on the Indo-British Trade Agreement in the Council of State*", says

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* On March 30, 1939, M. H. Dow (Commerce Secretary) while speaking on Indo-British Trade Agreement in the Council of State said, "In the course of the last few days I have heard many arguments against the Agreement which have tended to cancel each other out.

.....I do not propose to deal with these, but I will, in conclusion, deal with one argument which was made against this Agreement, an argument of a somewhat curious nature, which only derives its importance from the eminence of the source from which it emanated. One would have thought that it was beyond any human ingenuity to give a communal twist to the consideration of this matter. But one lives and learns. It has been seriously argued that this Agreement is at best an arrangement between British capitalists on one side and Hindus capitalists on the other.....Sir Muhammad

Zafrullah has been accused of throwing dust in the eyes of the agriculturists of the Punjab. I say that the man who made that charge was himself throwing dust in the eyes of the elected representatives of those agriculturists who sat behind him. And he knew it. And they knew it.

Speaking on the motion Syed Hossain Imam (Bihar & Orissa: Muhammadan) said "Sir, it was rather unfortunate, and I regret the attack that was made by the Honourable Mr. Dow on the pronouncement of Mr. Jinnah in the other place. The proper venue for this reply was in the other House, and the Government having missed that opportunity, have thought it right to fire the missiles from their entrenched position in this House, against all canons of chivalry, and the rules of the ring. It is in my opinion worse than hitting below the belt. The essential part of Mr. Jinnah's indictment was that the Moslems and Hindus were alike interested in the agricultural production, but they were interested only in production. The marketing and trade with the United Kingdom is mainly the concern of Europeans and the Hindu capitalists."

Sir A.P. Patro (Nominated Non-Official) said:.....I submit that the discussion today would have been much easier if the Honourable Member representing the group to whom the Honourable Mover addressed the question, that is, the Congress Member, had replied to his question. The question was: "Why was it that the Congress Leader and the Congressmen sat mum in the other House when Mr. Jinnah made the statement whose fallacy could have been exposed by them?" If they were supporting the interests of the agriculturists, producers and the poorer classes, they should have got up in their seats and replied to this. The absence of any such reply from their side shows that they also agreed. Silence is half consent, as they say. They agreed therefore with the statement made by Mr. Jinnah. Here, also when challenged to explain the position taken up in the other House, we have not had any explanation. That indicates that those who sit here also consent to that position.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru said....I hope you will allow me before I sit down to join my Honourable friend Mr. Dow in regretting that in another place a communal twist should have been given to the issues involved in the consideration of the matter before us.

Mr. P.N. Sapru said.....There is just one remark I should like to make about the introduction of communalism in this discussion. I was very sorry that a most respected leader introduced the communal bogey into this matter.

Sir Muhammad Yakub said:.....It is really to be regretted that the attitude which was adopted by the members of a certain Party in the other House was not according to the wishes of their electorate. By the manner in which the members of that Party have behaved they have certainly stultified their position, and I am prepared to say that their views are not shared by a majority of those who held the same political opinions which they do. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan is not only

Mr. Jinnah, "I am accused of 'throwing dust in the eyes of the agriculturalists'. Here are the facts, which cannot be denied by any honest man. This is what I stated in the Assembly during the debate on the Agreement:

> 'What have you done for the cotton *quid pro quo* for the advantages conferred on Lancashire? It is much worse than the position we occupied without this Agreement. Hereafter Lancashire need not take more than 400,000

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a prominent member but a great factor in the organisation of the All-India Muslim League and therefore the views expressed by a small section of the All-India Muslim League in the other House does not represent the views of the larger orgnisation. It is a pity that the members of that Party adopted an attitude of being neutral. They have neither done justice to themselves nor to their country nor to their community. If they wanted to fight, they ought to have voted on the one side or the other. There is no meaning in remaining neutral and I may say that indirectly in this way, they have helped the Congress with which they want to fight.

Saiyed Muhammad Padshah Sahib Bahadur said:.... Sir, I am afraid I shall have to address myself to the bogey of so-called communalism. (An Honourable Member: "What has all this to do with the business before us?) It should have been stopped when it was first mooted here. I would not have ventured to take up any time of this House in referring to this matter had it not been for the fact that all the charges levelled against the respected Leader of the Muslim League in the Assembly are altogether unfounded. The gravamen of the charges is utterly unfounded.

The gravamen being based on a misconception of the meaning and import of the statement which Mr. Jinnah made in the other House. Sir, I would challenge my Honourable friends who have levelled their attacks against that speech to show one single passage or one single expression in that speech which went to show that Mr. Jinnah's decision about the matter under consideration in the Assembly was based merely on communal grounds. All that Mr. Jinnah said was that since the Muslims had only a very infinitesimal proportion of interests in the matter it was not their right to try and interfere with the views of other people who hold an overwhelmingly large interest in the affair. I may ask whether it is wrong for one to find out what proportion of interest one has to get the right to interfere with the decision of others? If one tries to assess one's own interest in order thereby to find out one's own right to influence the decision about any matter, should that be called communalism? On the other hand Mr. Jinnah made it quite plain –

For further details see "*The Council of State Debates*" Vol: I, pp. 800-860.

or 450,000 bales at the most, whereas without the Agreement off-take of cotton is nearly 500,000. That you will find from the official document and I will read from the memorandum attached to this Agreement so that there may be no room for a misunderstanding. This is what the Government themselves say:

**Raw Cotton Exports**

"The scale of raw cotton exports prescribed under this Article takes full account of the recent increase in United Kingdom purchass. In the three years ending 1937-38, exports to the United Kingdom attained an average of 487,000 bales per annum. Under the Agreement the concession of reduced duty is liable to be withdrawn if in the first two cotton years exports amount to less than 400,000 bales" — (So the sanction does not come in unless less than 400,000 bales a year are taken) — "or if in any subsequent cotton year the total quantity of exports is less than 450,000 bales. The scale of raw cotton exports which regulates the duty chargeable on United Kingdom cotton piece-goods had been fixed at a much higher level and every inducement has been placed in the way of United Kingdom importers to increase their purchases to a figure exceeding 700,000 bales. These provisions are calculated to improve the demand for Indian raw cotton in the United Kingdom and are therefore of great potential value to India's cotton growers.'

"When I corrected or rather interrupted my friend Mr. James when he spoke of a guarantee, I asked hi where was the guarantee. Is it not rather abusing the English language to say that this is a guarantee? What is the guarantee and where is the guarantee? Very often we have agreements in courts that if you do not do this or that, you have to pay so much of damages. What is the damage here? Increase of duty. Who would be damaged because Lancashire failed or committed default? Who suffers? The cotton grower? Who gets the benefit? The

millonwer. That is the compensation for the poor cotton grower. I have come to the conclusion that the poor cotton grower's interests have been treated with criminal negligence by the Government of India.

**"Nothing But Dust"**

"I know that some Muslims in the Punjab are under the impression that they have got a good mine in this Agreement. Let me tell the Muslims of the Punjab and all my Muslim friends here, it is nothing but dust. It is to throw dust in their eyes for vote-catching purposes by pretending that they have come to the rescue of the agriculturists. We are not all sophisticated. Some of us are able at least to understand the political language of the Government when we are told that there is some big concession being made to us. There is no concession. On the contrary we are nowhere and certainly no better off than we were before this agreement which is an eye wash, and even the moderate claim of the cotton growers to guarantee off-take of at least 7.5 lakh bales is turned down."

*The Statesman, April 3, 1939*

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## 279

### Speech in reply to the address presented to him by the staff of the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, April 5, 1939

Replying to the address of welcome presented by the staff of the Aligarh Muslim University, Mr. Jinnah said that Aligarh, to quote the words of the address, "was the hope and the aspiration of the Muslims. He had almost retired from public life but when the call of Islam came he could not keep himself away. Muslims were not in the No Man's Land: they were the

No Man's Land." The Muslim was not in his own. Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said, there are two important instruments for bringing up a nation — the mother and the teacher. It was a most responsible task. I realise that you have done your best within your limits. The Aligarh man has acquainted himself magnificently wherever he has gone. Much, however, remains to be done. Teaching in India has shown one definite result — Our intelligentsia is being manufactured, as it were, in factories, as careerists. The foremost idea of most of them was careerism.

**Camp Followers of the British and the Hindu**

The result was that they sought a career either in the Bureaucratic camp or the Congress camp. They had either the one or the other to look to. They could get jobs, titles, preferences in the British Camp. The others became camp-followers of the Congress, styling themselves as 'Nationalist Muslims' and the Congress was now doling out its patronage to them. I ask you, members of the staff, should this not be stopped? A re-orientation of the mentality of the intelligentsia was urgently needed. We cannot even today rely on fully equipped men. I have knocked about a great deal, and I find that one important ingredient is missing. The intelligentsia has not grasped one principle — self confidence and moral, cultural and political self-consciousness. No nation has ever achieved anything unless the intelligentsia is prepared to make sacrifices.

**Muslims a Nation**

"I make no secret of the fact that Muslims and Hindus are two nations and the Muslims cannot maintain their status as such unless they acquire national self-consciousness and national self-determination. The Muslim mind suffers from defeatism. Fear, demoralisation and mendicancy haunt the minds of many of us. There is no hope for us so long as the defeatist mentality continues. But we are now awakening to our duties. We are going to live as a nation and play our part as a

nation.

**Don't Be Purchasable**

"A great change has come about during the last eighteen months, an instance of which is this meeting and this address. A British Military Officer speaking to me about the Muslim League admitted the progress made by us but remarked that it was one man's band. Naturally this could not be wonderful orchestra. I am looking out for a band. This cannot be achieved unless the intelligentsia are coming forward.

**Commodities**

"All sorts of questions are put to me. Why don't you have a first-class daily? Why don't you organise the Muslim League? Why have you done this or that? What is your economic programme? How can one do it all without men and money? I ask you if you know that Muslims have no shares in any industrial development or concern. No nation can progress without economic stability. Who will attend to it? So long as the intelligentsia are not prepared to come forward to build up the nation there can be no hope for us. You were kind enough to remark that I am one of those who cannot be purchased. I ask you to follow the example and train your youth in such a way that they would not allow themselves to be purchased by anybody."

*The Star of India, April 12, 1939*

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## 280

### Reply to the Address of welcome presented by the Aligarh Students' Union, Aligarh, April 7, 1939.

"The days of sitting in gilded chairs and playing with

politics or amusement are gone. Grim reality and struggle stare us in the face, declared Mr. Jinnah, replying to an address of welcome presented to him by the Aligarh Students' Union.

"You must be prepared," he said, "to sacrifice anything and everything in the cause of your people. It is a struggle of life and death for the Mussalmans. If you want to live with honour and play your part worthily, secure in your elementary rights, you must make up your mind that this struggle has to be fought to a finish.

What contribution, he asked, were the students making to the progress and consolidation of the Muslim League? "When a man grows rich, everybody flocks round him and claims him as his relation. The same seems to be the case with the Muslim League. I am glad everybody is claiming the Muslim League as his own."

Mr. Jinnah went on to tell of the issues in which the Muslim League had recently been engaged. The first was Palestine. What had the Congress or the Nationalist Moslems done for Palestine beyond passing a half-hearted and vague resolution? The Muslim League, on the other hand exerted every possible influence to bring home to the proper quarters the feelings of Moslems in the matter. Thousands of meetings were held, representations were made to the British Government and Muslim League representatives were sent to Cairo and London.

He then referred to Rajkot. Who had been fighting for the Moslems in the Kathiawar States? Within two months Muslim League branches had been formed in Rajkot, Junagadh, Jamnagar and several other States. "We will not allow our brethren in the Indian States to be ground down. The position of Moslems in the States is simply pitiable," he said. As for Jaipur, it was again the Muslim League which had interested itself and had brought to light the facts about the shooting outside the

Johri bazar mosque. The Moslems of Jaipur were a crowd rudderless, captainless and without organization. The Muslim League had come to their rescue. "The result has been that permission to alter the door of the mosque – which was the origin of the whole trouble – has been conceded. The Jaipur Durbar has consented to compensate the families of those Moslems who were killed in the firing and also to withdraw prosecutions against Moslems. Further the Maharaja has come forward with a gesture to build another mosque for his Moslem subjects at his own expense."

The emigration of Moslems from Jaipur had created another problem. "The question is with whom am I to work in regard to this affair." "How imperative it is," he concluded, "that leaders should now come out with their coats off and look after the Moslems whenever and wherever they are in trouble."(A.P.I.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 8, 1939.*

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## 281

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the motion regarding the "Hindu Women's Right to Divorce Bill, New Delhi, April 11, 1939

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Assembly will now resume consideration of the motion moved by Dr. Deshmukh on the 18th February, 1939, namely:

"That the Bill give a right to divorce to Hindu women under certain circumstances be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, Mr. C.J.W. Lillie,

Mr. A.K. Chanda, Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Mr. F.E. James, Mr. Surrya Kumar Som, Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan, Sardar Jogendra Singh and the Mover, and that the number of Members whose presence shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Committee shall be five."

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh** (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, I recommend the Bill — which I had the honour to put forward before this House — to the approval of this House. Sir, I want the House to approve of it for these reasons. I think it will help the House if I explain the reasons as to why I wish that the Bill should be passed as soon as possible. To begin with, Sir, this Bill is what you might call only an enabling measure, or what is technically called, I suppose, a permissive measure.

. . . . .

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh**: Sir, I am the person who is concerned in this and I do not know anything about this. What is your ruling? I want to maintain my right. It is not so much that I care to speak, but it involves the right of all Members.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Will Dr. Deshmukh tell the Chair more plainly what his point of order is?

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh**: My point is this. In my humble opinion, as a layman I think it is not right that my right to speak should in any way be taken away in favour of any other Member of the House, if there is no rule to that effect. It is not a question of my right only, but of every Honourable Member of this House. And, therefore, I request you to change your ruling and allow me to go on.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandrsa Datta): In view of what has happened the Chair is not prepared to change

its ruling, but the Chair explained at length that it will not be a precedent. The Honourale Member can resume his speech later on.

**Mr. Husenbhai Abdullabhai Laljee**: Sir, on a point of order, I should like to know on what question the ruling has been given by the Chair.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): That has been made sufficiently clear.

**Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar** (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the point is this. Dr. Deshmukh moved for reference to select Committee, and the Chair has got to put it to the House before the Leader of the House can be allowed to speak.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The Honourable Member is under a misconception. It was moved on a previous day earlier in the Session and was, as a matter of fact, put to the House.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan**: Sir, on a point of order, I want to know one thing. Dr. Deshmukh had a right to continue his speech without interruption until such time as he has finished.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): That point has been decided.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan**: I have not been able to understand it.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, on a point of order, I think it is a very important point and it affects the rights of every Member of this House. According to the Rules and Standing Orders, on a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration there is no time limit fixed for the Mover. Of course, if the speaker is abusing his rights in an

undesirable manner, the Chair can take steps against him. But I respectfully submit that it is not open to the Chair to say that he must finish his speech by some particular time. And all that you can do is to request him to finish his speech as soon as he can in order that you may give an opportunity to somebody else who wants to speak and who may not be here later on.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: Sir, if my Honourable friend will pardon me, this question may be avoided, because I understand that Dr. Deshmukh is going to finish in ten minutes. If that is so, I shall myself ask that no ruling be given, position which I have taken throughout.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai** (Bombay Northern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, your ruling was given in the interest of convenience and in the interest of courtesy, and there is no question of insisting on any rules and I feel certain that Dr. Deshmukh would extend the same courtesy to the retiring Leader of the House as any one of us would like to to do. It is in that spirit that Dr. Deshmukh may now continue, and I hope and trust that there will be no occasion for a ruling and that the Leader of the House will have ample opportunity, even by sitting longer, if necessary, and if the Chair permits, to make his speech and finish it. I think that is the best way to proceed in this case.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar**: Sir, I accept that suggestion and I ask you to withdraw your ruling, because the occasion will not arise. I leave it to the sense of fair play of the Honourable the Mover.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The Chair is quite prepared to accept that position, and the Chair wishes to say expressly that it never intended it to be a ruling or a precedent. The Chair expressly stated that in the interests of convenience this may be made a special case;

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Then that must be left to Dr. Deshmukh.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The Chair has already stated that it is a suggestion made by the Leader of the Opposition and the Chair accepts that position and that suggestion. If Dr. Deshmarkh wishes to speak again now, the Chair will call him.

**Dr. G.V. Deshmukh**: I want to know first whether it is my right to speak and I do not want to be interrupted. I want to know from the Chair whether it is my right to speak. (Cries of "Yes.") If the Chair says that it is my right to speak, then I will consider. I do not like to encroach on anybody's rights, but I do not want anybody to encroach on my rights; and if I showed temper at the time of your ruling, it was only on account of my nature; therefore, unless I am told that it is my right to speak, I do not want to take up time. Let the Chair say so.

.....

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab: Sikh): With your permission, Sir, I wish to bring to the notice of the House that I have received certain communications from Dr. Deshmukh that on account of his unavoidable absence from the House, he desires the leave of the House to have this debate postponed to the next Session.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Member wishes to move any motion for the adjournment of the debate, that is a different matter, but the Chair cannot take any notice of such remarks as he is making.

**Sardar Sant Singh**: Then, with your permission, Sir I move: "That the debate should now stand adjourned."

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Motion moved: "That the debate should now stand adjourned."

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** (Leader of the House): Sir, I am afraid we cannot accept this motion for the reasons stated yesterday. We are not supposed to know — at any rate, we are not supposed to say why the

Honourable Member in whose name the motion stands is absent. We know that his absence is not due to unavoidable reasons, and I am quite certain that now that the Honourable Member, Mr. Bajoria, is here, it will really be a saving of time to go on with the motion. I do not think the motion will be concluded today and in any case no reason has been advanced why the debate should be adjourned.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, I want to bring to the notice of the House that the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill made a personal appeal to me in Bombay and he regretted very much that he was unable to come. He has since written to me a letter asking me to appeal to the Government, having regard to the importance of the Bill and he being the Member in charge, to allow the matter to stand over. He has also sent me a telegram, and, so far as the Muslim League Party is concerned, we have no objection if the Government see their way to allow the postponement of the debate on this motion.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I would like to support this motion. Sir, the very fact that I am present in the House shows that I do not approve of the policy of the Congress Party in not being present in this House.

**An Honourable Member**: It is the fault of Dr. Deshmukh to belong to the Congress Party.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi**: It may be a fault. I do not know whether it is the fault of a man to belong to a party and to follow its policy, with which at any rate so far as I am concerned, I do not agree.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1939, Vol: IV, pp. 3540, 3574-75, Vol: V, pp. 171-72.*

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## 282

### Speech in the Legislative Assembly on the "Indian Tariff (Third Amendment) Bill", New Delhi, April 14, 1939.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** (Member for Commerce and Labour): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, for a certain purpose (Third Amendment).

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, for a certain purpose (Third Amendment)."

The motion was adopted.

**The Honourable Sir Muahmmad zafrullah Khan**: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

.....

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: My friends over there and here want to dispose of the Bill without further considering, even the merits of the Bill. Sir, we, Muslims, are in a very peculiar position. We have to fight two enemies. Muslim Enemy No.1, the Congress.....

**Some Honourble Members**: Oh, oh!

**Sir Abdur Halim Ghuznavi**:..... and Muslim Enemy No.2, the Government .....

**An Honourable Member**: And Muslim League No.3

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: Don't be led away by the fact that I have resigned from the Muslim League. Muslim League is in my blood. I will give you an explanation in the lobby

as to why I resigned from the League. I resigned because I wanted to exercise my vote.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member need not discuss the reasons as to why he resigned from the League.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: The League is in my blood. I want to fight the Congress, and that is why I have resigned. I will fight the Congress on behalf of the Muslim League.....

**An Honourable Member**: With the mandate of the Muslim League?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: Certainly, with the aid of the Muslim League.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande**: Single handed you will fight?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: Yes, I will fight single handed if need be. Sir, I am not going to take time by going into details. If I am satisfied that the Trade Agreement is good, I will support it with my vote, and not merely say it is very good and so on. But, Sir, we have to fight the Congress. We cannot fight the two together.

**An Honourable Member**: Oh, oh!

. . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I really regret very much that Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi should have brought in this debate the question of his relationship with the Muslim League Party and the Muslim League. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi has decided for himself to resign from the Muslim League Party....

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim)**: The Honourable Member need not discuss that resignation.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: He has introduced the matter here, and I am entitled to say....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): But the Chair stopped him from discussing it.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: But he has introduced the subject and I am entitled to say this. I must explain the position. I must say that he has resigned from the Muslim League and he has now had the opportunity of satisfying his conscience, and he says that he is going to serve the League. By the conduct that he has adopted — I say this on the floor of the House, that in that case God help the League. I extremely regret that he should have resigned. I regret more that he should have introduced this subject on the floor of the House.

Now, Sir, coming to the Bill itself, it seems that there are some people who either do not understand or will not understand the policy adopted by the Muslim League with reference to this Indo-British Trade Agreement. I want to make it quite clear, and I think Honourable Members who were present when I made my speech on the previous occasion, and the people outside if they will read the official report of my speech will find that the position is quite clear; yet I find that in certain sections of the press outside we are blamed on the ground that we took up a "communal" attitude. It is absolutely false. You have got only to read my speech, but I do maintain on the floor of the House, as I said before in my speech, that we are here to consider also the interests of the Mussalmans. That does not mean, as I said in my speech, that we are indifferent, nay, hostile to the larger interests of India. I think I made it clear that even the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, very rightly I said, laid down that he was representing a constituency in Guzerat who held one-third of the interests in the mills. I said he was perfectly right in taking that into consideration. And, why should we, therefore, not also take into consideration, as

one of the factors, the interests of the Mussalmans. To my great regret, the Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan said – I think he must be sorry for it – I regret that he should have said that – that he was surprised that "a man of the standing and ability of Mr. Jinnah should have introduced the communal question", whereas the very fact of his existence in this House is that he is a Mussalman.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: God help him!

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: You helped him a few days ago when he was thinking of the Muslim interests. Therefore, I want to make it quite clear as to what our position is. I hope we may be right or we may be wrong, but I hope that I have made my position clear on that account.

Then, again, it is a matter of regret that I should have been blamed by the Leader of the Opposition and he was good enough to remind me, not during the debate, but immediately after the debate, that Mr. Jinnah must know that the cotton grown by the Muslims does not bear the mark of "Subhan Allah". What does he wish to insinuate?

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: There is no insinuation.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair did not hear the Honourable Member.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I assure you, I was only quoting his speech. What is the meaning of it? Only one meaning can be put upon it, and that is that I was thinking of nothing else but the cotton grown by the Mussalmans. What else can it be? Surely, is that fair to make that insinuation? My Honourable friend was actually present in the House when I made my speech. I made it quite clear that I wish my Hindu friends to prosper still more. I want them to flourish and what else did I say? The main interests are the interests of the Hindus, and I leave it to you. Take the responsibility of giving your verdict. Why get annoyed

with me and make this insinuation? I knew you had a majority if we remained neutral. I knew the verdict was in your hands, whatever the effect of that verdict may be. Articles after articles are written in that paper, the *Hindustan Times* — "Communalism in Excelsis". Mr. Satyamurti gives the lead. Surely, be just, be fair. You are leading a great organisation, a great party, and I say to the *Hindustan Times*, "You claim to be one of the leading journals of this city". I will say no more about it.

**An Honourable Member**: What about Mr. Dow in the Council of State?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: As regards what Mr. Dow said in the Council of State, I characterise that as the meanest attack that could have been made by anybody. He not only criticised me — a thing which he is entitled to do, but he attributed to me motives and he does that in the other place, the Council of State, when he was actually present here in the debate when I spoke. He said that Mr. Jinnah knew that he was throwing the dust in the eyes of those who were behind him. For a Government servant holding the responsible position of Secretary, Commerce Department, to have thought it fit to go into the other place and attribute motives to me in my absence (Some Honourable Members: "Shame"), — is that worthy of the traditions of the Civil Service, is this worthy of British statesmanship and British politics? Sir I do not want to say anything more.

We have fully considered all the pros and cons, and our attitude today with regard to the Bill is exactly the same as it was with regard to the Indo-British Trade Agreement a few days ago. As I said the agreement was a *fait accompli*. We were only holding a *post mortem* examination, and this Bill is a statute *fait accompli*, and we are only holding *post mortem* discussion. A certificate of the Governor General for the Bill is ready, and I say to the Congress Party you may walk into any lobby you like. But

the law has been enacted and only formalities remain to be satisfied.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: I rise to oppose the motion.....

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1939*
*Vol.IV, pp. 3137, 3756, 3758-60.*

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## 283

### Statement to the press regarding situation in Rajkot, New Delhi, April 18, 1939.

"Mr. Gandhi has proved beyond doubt that he wants the Mussalmans to be his creatures, to carry out his behests by insisting upon their agreeing before hand to obey his orders and vote as he would finally order them to do even for the purpose of formulating recommendations for the political and constitutional advancement of the people of Rajkot.

"This is a condition, which could not be accepted by any self-respecting man, who is going to do his duty honestly as a representative of any interest concerned or representing the interests of Mussalmans.

"The fact that Mr. Gandhi insisted upon a Parishad majority, which means the Pact Committee of Sardar Vallabhai Patel makes it quite clear that he does not desire to co-operate with Mussalmans as free and equal collaborators.

"The Parishad represents only one party amongst the people of Rajkot and to assume that it alone has the monopoly of patriotism and the Mussalmans are to be considered as suspects is, in my opinion, Mr. Gandhi's fundamental blunder.

"The first step that I will advise the Mussalmans of Rajkot to take is to boycott this Pact Committee and urge upon the Rajkot Durbar to decline to treat it as a representative

committee of the people of Rajkot.

**The next step**

"We shall have seriously to consider what further steps to take in this matter, as I am awaiting a full report from the President of the Muslim Council of Rajkot.

"I congratulate the Bhayats for taking an equally honourable stand in declining to submit to similar humiliating restrictions and conditions imposed upon them by Mr. Gandhi for the inclusion of their representative in the Committee.

"Finally, I assure that Muslim Council of Rajkot and the Mussalmans of Rajkot who I am glad are solid and united, that the Muslim League will do all in its power to help them in every possible way in this honourble struggle they are carrying on."(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 19, 1939.*
*& The Muslim Opinion, April 26, 1939*

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## 284

### Speech at the flag-hoisting ceremony, Sholapur, May 6, 1939.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah hoisted the Muslim League flag at the Conference *Pandal*.

Unfurling the Muslim League flag Mr. M. A. Jinnah complimented the Muslims on their awakening to their rights and responsibilities as a community and exhorted them to sink their differences and rally round the Muslim League banner. Mr. Jinnah expressed gratification for the splendid reception that was accorded to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. (A.P.I.)

*The Tribune, May 8, 1939*

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## 285

### Speech inaugurating the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Conference, Sholapur, May 7, 1939

A stern warning to the British Government that they would be making a very great mistake if they thought that they could settle the Federation issue with the Congress leaving out the Muslim League, was given by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, inaugurating the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Conference. He declared that in such a case the Muslim League would fight Federation alone and make it impossible.

In this connection, Mr. Jinnah pointed out that Muslims were prepared for greater sacrifices as he had a feeling that Congress would ultimately join the Federation. It was curious and significant, he stated, that Mr. Gandhi had not uttered a word about Federation in recent months.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated the Muslim League policy *vis-a-vis* the Indian States as one of no intervention. But, he declared if the Congress continued in contravention of its resolutions to interfere in the Indian States then the Muslim League would be compelled to interfere therein in order to protect Muslim interests in the States.

**"Not Henchmen"**

Mr. Jinnah traced at length the history of the recent growth of the Muslim League organisation and expressed gratification at its present strength. He stated that it had been proved that the Congress High Command did not want Muslims to collaborate or co-operate with them as their equals and partners, they wanted Muslims to be their henchmen. Every action of the Congress High Command, whether inside or outside the legislatures, was directed to crush and divide the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah cited the instances of the Bombay

Municipal Amendment Act and the District Local Boards Act which, he said, were deliberately enacted to injure Muslim interests.

Referring to the Rajkot affair, Mr. Jinnah said that it had proved his worst apprehensions that Mr. Gandhi wanted Muslims to play the part of his henchmen, which they would never do. Mr. Jinnah severely criticised Mr. Gandhi's proposal of conditional representation of Muslims on the Reforms Committee and said: "It is a proposal which I would feel ashamed to offer to Hindus."

Mr. Jinnah concluded with the advice: "In difficulties, do not despair, in victory, do not lose your head." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, May 9, 1939*

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## 286

### Interview to the Associated Press, Sholapur, May 7, 1939

An appeal to the Muslims of U.P. to declare truce forthwith with a view to enabling the League to find a reasonable and honourable solution of the Shia-Sunni controversy in Lucknow has been made by Mr. Jinnah in an interview to the Associated Press before his departure for Bombay. Mr. Jinnah said:

"I caution Muslims not to fall into surreptitious machinations of the enemies of the Muslims which are calculated to create and exploit the differences among them. One cannot help noting in the unfortunate developments in Lucknow that those responsible for leading, rather misleading, sections of both Shias and Sunnis in a fratricidal struggle are prominent Muslim congressites." Mr. Jinnah, however, expressed

satisfaction that all responsible and thoughtful leaders of both the sect had very wisely kept themselves aloof and were making every endeavour to put an end to the serious situation that had been created."

**Jaipur Affairs**

Mr. Jinnah also referred to recent events in Jaipur and Rajkot states, Mr. Jinnah urged for an impartial enquiry into the recent firing on Muslims in Jaipur which, he believed was proved to have been resorted to without justification and without warning and demanded punishment of those found guilty and the release of those who were being prosecuted in this connection with a view to restoring peace and good will between this Durbar and Muslims.

Mr. Jinnah added: "The representative of the Paramount Power quickly cancelled his tour, rushed to save Mr. Gandhi's life on the Rajkot issue and intervened even with regard to constitutional advance whereas the Paramount Power, which maintained its undoubted right and responsibility to intervene in a case of maladministration in a state has taken no steps so far in Jaipur, where Muslims are concerned. The moral is obvious. We have to organise and when we begin to count ourselves in crores, instead of lakhs the Paramount Power would be awakened to their sense of responsibilities towards the Muslims."

**Congress Policy**

Turning to the Congress Mr. Jinnah expressed the hope that "thoughtful leaders among Hindus will awake to realities and check the reckless path which the Congress High Command has been following." He sated: "Hindus are under a delusion. A large body of Hindus, untutored and unsophisticated, are being exploited by the Congress by giving them the impression that they are fighting for a Hindu Raj. There is a large body of thoughtful Hindus who not only are not with the Congress but

are definitely opposed to the policy of Mr. Gandhi and the present Congress High Command and deplore the attitude which has led to a complete estrangement between the two communities and created intense bitterness – the wrong-headed policy pursued by the Congress in the last eighteen months in and outside the legislatures."

*The Muslim Outlook, May 10, 1939.*

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## 287

### Statement condemning the Asiatic Segregation Bill, Matheran, May 24, 1939

"The passing of the obnoxious and unjust Asiatic Segregation Bill by the South African Assembly is unanimously condemned by the Government of India and the entire public," declares Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement. He asks: "Will the Senate cry halt."

"Justice to the Indian Nationals, and the wider interests of statesmanship demand the stoppage of further progress of the invidious Bill. And the proper course to find an honourable solution is to negotiate with the representatives of India. Else the consequence will be disastrous." Mr. Jinnah suggests that the Viceroy should openly advise His Majesty to refuse to give assent to the Bill and maintain India's self-respect and honour. (A.P.I.)

*The Tribune, May 25, 1939*

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## 288

### Speech at a mass meeting to collect funds for a Muslim School, Matheran, June 1, 1939

"Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a vigorous speech applead to the

gathering to exert themselves to bring the light of knowledge in their houses and emulate the example of some communities who were making real progress in that direction."

*AFM/KU/QA/Clip4/p.46*

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## 289

### Appeal to help the Matheran Muslim Institution, Matheran, June 7, 1939.

"I appeal to the Muslim and members of the sister - communities to help the proposed Matheran Muslim Educational, Economic and Social Uplift Institution as liberally as possible. Its aims and objects are to help the poor children of the Matheran Hill; and for such a worthy cause I am sure this appeal will not fail. It is not a matter of party politics but purely a cause of education and humanity.

*QAP-F-900/71*

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## 290

### Statement setting forth the conclusions of the meeting of the League's Working Committee, Bombay, July 4, 1939

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement setting forth the conclusions of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League held here:

"A meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League was held on July 2 and 3 at Mr. M. A. Jinnah's residence, Little Gibbs Road, Bombay. The following members

were present: Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Syed Abdul Aziz, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Haji Abdul Sattar Haji Esak Saith, Sir Ali Muhammad Khan Dehlavi, Mr. Ashik Warsi, Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman, Sir Abdoola Haroon, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Syed Abdul Rauf Shah, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

**Congress and Hindu-Muslim Question**

"The Committee considered the correspondence that has passed between Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Sahib regarding the appointment of a Muslim Minister in C.P. The Committee was of opinion that no individual province should negotiate or come to any settlement with the Congress with regard to the Hindu-Muslim question in their provinces and, if any such proposals are received from the Congress, intimation should be sent to the effect that the matter should be referred by the Congress to the President or the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

"It was resolved that the next annual session of the All India Muslim League be held at Lahore on December 28, 29 and 30. The All India Muslim League expresses its full sympathy with Indian nationals in South Africa in their struggle against the obnoxious and unjust segregation measure and extends to them all possible help.

**Indian Overseas**

"The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government of India to take prompt steps for the protection of the rights of Indians in Ceylon. The Working Committee urges upon the Government of India to take immediate action to secure justice and fair treatment to Indian nationals in Belgian Congo.

**Palestine Fund**

"The Working Committee, having examined the White Paper on Palestine and having heard the Muslim League delegates, is of opinion that the proposals embodied in the White Paper are most unsatisfactory and disappointing and are totally unacceptable. The Committee urges upon the British Government to meet the Arab demands and redeem their solemn pledges made to the Arabs and the Muslims of India who stood by them solidly in the Great War. The Working Committee hereby resolves that a Palestine Fund be opened forthwith for the relief of the dependents of those who lost their lives or suffered in the struggle for independence and for the protection of the first *Qibla* of Muslims. The following Committee with powers to co-opt is appointed to devise ways and means of collecting money for the Palestine Fund and remitting the same to Palestine through the President of the All India Muslim League; Sir Abdolla Haroon, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Haji Abdur Sattar Haji Esak Saith, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman (Convener). The Working Committee appreciates the services rendered by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman who went to Cairo, London and the Near East in connection with the Palestine question.

"The Working Committee resolved that the Madras Provincial Muslim League be affiliated to the All India Muslim League. The consideration of the report of the Economic Programme Committee was postponed.

**Muslim National Guards**

"The question of Muslim National Guards could not be considered as the report of the Committee appointed by the Council in this connection has not yet been received. It was decided that the Committee be requested to submit their report

latest by the end of September.

"The Committee considered the explanation of Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi regarding his resignation from the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly. The Working Committee declined to consider the acceptance of his resignation from the Council of the All India Muslim League as it was sent by Sir A.H. Ghuzanvi after the receipt of the notice by the Honorary Secretary calling for an explanation why disciplinary action should not be taken against him regarding his conduct in resigning from the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly and defying the resolutions of the Council of the All India Muslim League. The Committee resolved after giving full consideration to all the papers documents and evidence that the name of Sir A.H. Ghuznavi be removed from the Council of the All India Muslim League, and further, that he should be disqualified for the membership of the League organisation for next four years from July 3, 1939.

**Muslims in Indian States**

"The Working Committee has received reports and representations of maltreatment and injustice being done to the Muslims in the various Indian States namely Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bhavanagar, Cutch and Patiala. The Committee most earnestly urges upon the Rulers of the States concerned to redress the grievances and protect the lives, honour and properties and all liberties of their Muslim subjects thereby creating a sense of security amongst them and preventing the situation from taking a serious turn.

**Jaipur Muslims**

"The Working Committee has every sympathy with the Muslim *Muhajirin* from Jaipur who have been undergoing great hardships and suffering since they left their homes. The Committee urges upon the Jaipur Durbar to meet the just

demands of the Jaipur Muslims without further delay so that the situation that has been created may not worsen and, at the same time, advises the Muslims of Jaipur to suspend Civil Disobedience and organise themselves effectively as their salvation lies in their own inherent strength.

**Hyderabad Agitation**

"The Working Committee of the Muslim League views with grave concern the situation that is being created by the mischievous activities and propaganda of the Arya Samajists and Hindu Mahasabhaites all over India in organising and dispatching *jathas* to Hyderabad with the ostensible object of vindicating their religious rights in order to coerce the State administration. The Working Committee warns the Arya Samaj and the Mahasabha organisations that the offensive bearing these *jathas* and shouting of provocative slogans has created intense bitterness among the Muslims and unless these provocative *jathas* are stopped forthwith, there is a grave danger of sporadic clashes developing into widespread inter-communal strife throughout the country. The Working Committee urges upon the Provincial Governments and Paramount Power to take immediate and adequate action in order to stop this mischief which seriously threatens the peace and tranquillity of the country.

**Bihar League's Request**

"The Working Committee considered the request of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League to Launch Civil Disobedience against the Wardha scheme of basic education. The Committee decided (message mutilated) that the League should send a memorial representing their complete case against the Wardha scheme to the Governor-General, the Governor and the Prime Minister of Bihar and report to the Working Committee the result of the representations. The Committee in this connection also advises all other Provincial Leagues to do likewise.

"The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League views with grave apprehensions the resolutions as reported in the Press passed by the recent Home Ministers' Conference held at Simla particularly resolution No.1 which read as follows: 'It is recommended to all Provincial Governments that they should undertake a concerted campaign against propaganda of a communal nature and against incitement to violence of any kind whatever,' as it is likely that in the absence of an authoritative explanation as to what is meant by the phrase 'propaganda of a communal nature,' the Congress Ministries which are opposed to the Muslim League movement will abuse the opportunity thus afforded to them by victimising the Muslim League organisations, the Muslim Press and by stifling the general Muslim public opinion on any and every pretext. The Working Committee while requesting the Home Department of the Government of India to issue a public statement explaining what the Home Minister's Conference meant by the phrase 'propaganda of a communal nature,' warns Congress Ministries of the great consequences which will follow any move on their part that is likely to result in the misuse or abuse of the decisions of the Home Ministers' Conference in order to muzzle legitimate Muslim public opinion in those provinces.

**Wardha Scheme**

"The Working Committee disapproves of the Wardha Scheme of education on the following grounds among others: apart from its origin, conception and communal aspect, there are fundamental objections to the scheme. The scheme is calculated to destroy Muslim culture gradually but surely and the Working Committee is of opinion that the textbooks are entirely unacceptable. The scheme is intended to secure the domination of the Hindu culture and as it stands, it tends to destroy Muslim culture and language, (2) it imposes the Congress party ideology and aims at inculcating among others the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, (3)

its objective is to infuse political creed, policy and programme of one party namely the Congress in the minds of children, (4) it has neglected the question of providing facilities for religious instructions. (5) under the guise of the name of Hindustani the scheme is meant to spread highly Sanscritised Hindi and to suppress Urdu which is really the lingua franca, of India at present, (6) the textbooks prescribed and provisionally sanctioned by certain Provincial Governments are highly objectionable from the Muslim point of view in that they are not only offensive to the feelings and sentiments of Muslims but are mainly devoted to the praise of Hindu religion, philosophy and heroes minimising Islamic contributions to the world and to India in particular and ignoring their culture, history and heroes and speaking of them with scant courtesy.

"The Committee considered the position of Muslims in Congress governed provinces, and as full representations have already been made to the Governor-General recently, the Committee decided to postpone this matter till next October. Before taking any definite step it was decided to await the action of the Governor-General. The Committee hopes that the Governor-General would consider the representations that have been made to him and will not fail to discharge his obligations as required by the Statute in safeguarding the rights and interests of Muslims." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, July 5, 1939*

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## 291

### Statement regarding Federal Scheme, Bombay, July 29, 1939.

The All-India Muslim League's opposition to the Federal scheme is reiterated by Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, President of

the League in a statement.

Mr. Jinnah appeals to Lord Linlithgow and His Majesty's Government not to force the Federal Constitution "upon an unwilling India in the teeth of opposition."

From the decision of Indian Princes at their Bombay meeting characterizing the terms of the draft Instruments of Accession to Federation as fundamentally unsatisfactory and unacceptable, says the statement one would have concluded that neither the British Government nor Lord Linlithgow would persist in it any more.

That was the most representative gathering of Indian Princes and State Ministers and they decided *nem con* that the draft Instruments were fundamentally not acceptable to them. This decision was arrived at after various deliberations which had taken place for more than a year and after a thorough examination of the situation and the provisions of the Government of India Act and the draft Instruments of Accession. One naturally wonders why after this the time is extended to September 1.

**Alarming Reports**

Alarming reports have appeared in the Press that the Princes are being coerced by the Paramount Power and their agents. Tremendous propaganda is carried on in some sections of the Press with regard to the consequences of their "holding out." It is said that they will never get better terms, that unless they come into Federation they are doomed to destruction and that their best safeguard is the goodwill of Lord Linlithgow and the Paramount Power.

The basic principles and the fundamental merits of the Federal scheme are forgotten. It has been pointed out times out of number that the scheme gives no real control or responsibility

to the Legislature, whereas all vital departments of Government are outside the pale of the Legislature or the Ministry that might be formed, and even with regard to the minor departments which are transferred to the Legislature and would be in charge of the Ministry, the powers of the Governor-General are greater and larger than those of Herr Hitler.

**Detrimental To Interests**

In the first instance, no doubt the Princes think that the Federal scheme is detrimental to their interests, and also to those of their people and States generally, and that they are called upon to make a tremendous sacrifice, and for what purpose? They naturally do not wish to be pawns in the Federal scheme to be used by the Paramount Power.

They know that the Congress is opposed to it, and so is the Muslim League. With whom are they then to federate? Therefore not only would they be signing their own death warrant by joining the Federation — but to what purpose is the question. Will they be helping the country? Will they be helping Hindus or Muslims, as there is not even two per cent of responsibility given at the Centre.

I therefore trust that they will, apart from their interests and sacrifices, which they are called upon to make, in the larger interests of India, stand by their Bombay decision and not be coerced by any outside agencies.

As to the Congress, which represents a solid body of Hindus in the country, their declarations are clear that they are fundamentally opposed to the scheme. Will the Congress be allured into accepting the scheme, as it is urged upon them to do so on the ground that otherwise the Muslims will break away, as they are thinking already of Pakistan, which will mean the destruction of all-India unity? Will the Congress accept this constitution because the Muslims have a special additional

grievance that they are not adequately safeguarded in the Federal scheme. Will it satisfy the ambition of some Congress leaders that in this dummy legislature, without control and responsibility on all vital matters, because they will secure a majority and therefore dominate in number over the Muslims the Federal scheme is good enough to be accepted?

It has been openly said that Mr. Gandhi conveyed at Rajkot to some of his followers that they would have to accept the Federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act. A few days ago when he was interviewed at Lahore it is reported that he was asked a question as to what his opinion was on Federation, and he declined to make any statement.

Is Mr. Gandhi going to fall into the trap for the sake of merely having a Congress majority under this wretched Federal scheme and is he going to be frightened to death on the score that the Muslims will break away and it might lead to a partition of India?

Is he going to accept this halter round India's neck simply for the sake of dominating the Muslims in those few minor departments which are transferred to the Legislature? I cannot believe it, and I cannot believe that the Congress will be a party to such a betrayal of the vital interests of India.

As regards the Muslim League, I need not repeat that it is firmly and definitely opposed to the scheme of Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act, and I once more appeal to Lord Linlithgow and His Majesty's Government not to force this Federal Constitution upon unwilling India and in the teeth of the real and genuine opposition by every responsible party in the country and save the fair name of Britain and his own prestige and reputation in the annals of future history and India.( A. P.)

*The Times of India, July 30, 1939.*

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## 292

### Statement regarding Democracy and present political situation in India, Bombay, August 5, 1939.

The view that democracy is unsuited to the genius of India was expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah speaking on the present political situation.

The cultures of the two communities, Muslims and Hindus, were so different that the one having power naturally tried to run the other down. In such a country, comprising different nationalities, a democratic system of parliamentary government was, in his view, an impossibility.

"What the future constitution should be was a matter to be yet decided.

"The Muslims on their part," asserted Mr. Jinnah, "did not want to harm the Hindus, and in turn wanted the Muslims to be left alone."

In this connection Mr. Jinnah referred to the attempts of the Congress to muddle in Sind politics and the Muslim mass contact movement.

Mr. Jinnah narrated how the Congress was attempting to corrupt the Muslims in the legislatures by offering them Ministerships. He referred to the flag question, the "Bande Matram" and the attempts to introduce Hindi as onslaughts on Muslim culture.

At such a time the foremost duty of the Muslim League was to organise the Muslims and make them a strong united body. That step was essential to enable the community to take the rightful place in national affairs.

Those who took that view might be branded as

communalists but so far as he was concerned, he said, he was willing to be branded so far doing his duty to the Muslims.

"I was born a Muslim, I am a Muslim and I shall die a Muslim." concluded Mr. Jinnah.(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, August 6, 1939.*

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## 293

### Statement releasing his correspondence with the Manager of the "Harijan", Bombay, August 9, 1939

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of All India Muslim League, has released the following correspondence between him and Mr. C.P. Shukla, Manager of the *Harijan*.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. C.P. Shukla to Mr. M. A. Jinnah:*

Poona, August 1

Dear Sir,

'In your latest statement to the Press you have made some remarks about Gandhiji's attitude towards the Federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, and you seem to have based your criticism on a hearsay report of what Gandhiji is believed to have said at Rajkot. I venture to send you three extracts from what he has actually written on the subject in the course of the past year, which probably you have not seen. In the course of an article entitled 'Federation' in *Harijan* dated October 1, 1938, he wrote:

'In the first place in all my talks, which have been very few, I have made it clear that I represent nobody and that I have

not even aired my views to any Congress man. I have also made it clear that what the Congress says and does is of consequence, whatever I may say is of no value unless it represents the Congress view. As a matter of fact, too, I have said that the Congress will never have Federation forced upon it, and that there was no hope of peace in India till there was Independence in virtue of a constitution framed by a duly convened Constituents Assembly.

'I have also made it clear that so far as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I are concerned, though we may talk in different languages, we are one in most things that matter to India. On the question of Federation there never has been any difference of opinion between us. And I have made a rule for myself that as far as the Congress is concerned, if there is an unbridgeable gulf between him and me his view should prevail.'

In replying to a letter from Lord Lothian he said in *Harijan* of February 11, 1939: 'But the Federal structure is inconceivable to me because it contemplates a partnership, however, loose, among dissimilars, how dissimilar the states are is being demonstrated in an ugly form for which I was unprepared. Therefore, the Federal structure, as conceived by the Government of India Act, I hold to be an utter impossibility.'

Then, again as recently as June 24, 1939, in an interview which he had with Mr. Steel of the *New York Times* and which was reported in the *Harijan*, he said: 'But I feel certain that the Federation won't come whilst it is not acceptable to the Congress or the Mussalmans or the Princes, I am inclined to think that the British statesmen won't impose Federation upon an unwilling and dissatisfied India but will try to placate all parties. That, at any rate, is my hope. It would be a first class tragedy if it is imposed upon India. The Federal structure cannot be brought into being in the midst of sullenness and opposition. The Federation is not wanted by any of the parties. It would be

the height of imprudence to force it.'

I am also sending you under separate cover these three issues of the *Harijan* from which the foregoing quotations have been taken. I have written this letter in the hope that it may help in leading to a better understanding of Gandhiji's attitude towards the Federal Scheme.

Yours truly
C.P. SHUKLA

*Copy of Mr. M. A. Jinnah's reply to Mr. C.P. Shukla*:

August 9, 1939,
Little Gibbs Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter of August 1, embodying extracts from *Harijan* about Mr. Gandhi's attitude towards the Federal Scheme. I must confess that these extracts do not meet the points made in my statement issued to the Press recently and referred to by you in your letter under reply. They are like declaration from the Oracle of Delphi. I should have thought that instead of your writing to me as you have been good enough to do, Mr. Gandhi himself would have come out openly in the Press and should have, at this critical juncture, defined his attitude categorically and in unequivocal terms.

However, I thank you for this information.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

*The Civil & Military Gazette, August 10, 1939*

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## 294

### Speech at the meeting of the Ismail College Students' Union at Andheri (Bombay) August 12, 1939

An attack on the Congress, denunciation of democratic parliamentary system of Government for India, and reiteration of the Muslim League's determination not to allow subordination of Muslims to any other party or power in India, were the outstanding features of a speech delivered by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the Ismail College Students' Union at Andheri. Mr. Jinnah who was admitted as an honorary member of the Union spoke on the present political situation in India. The greater part of the speech was, however, devoted to propounding the plans and policies of the Muslim League in relation to the Congress.

The first and foremost task of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah said, was to organise the Muslims and make them a strong united body. That was essential to enable the community to take its rightful place in the national affairs of the country. Those who took that view might be branded communalists. "So far as I am concerned", he declared, "I am willing to be branded a communalist for doing this duty to the Muslims. I was born a Muslim, I am a Muslim and I shall die a Muslim."

**False Propaganda**

"Let us be quite clear about this," he added. "What is the average Indian nationalist? Is the Congress really nationalist? You do not become a nationalist by declaring that you are one. In my judgment when the Congress speaks of nationalism, it means Hindu nationalism; when it says nationalist, it means Hindu nationalist. Not only that is their meaning, but they practise it in that sense."

Mr. Jinnah asserted that he was forced to that view by the developments after the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy

in the provinces. Before the elections it was his hope that the better minds among Muslims and Hindus would get into the legislatures and that they would work in harmony for brining about communal peace. The Congress answer to that was violent propaganda against the Muslim League during the elections. The Congress declared that the Muslims were reactionaries and were supporting the Imperialist power. The Congress wanted to wreck the constitution while the Muslim League wanted to utilise it for what it was worth. After the elections were over and the Congress found majorities in some of the provinces, it decided to accept office. Instead of wrecking the constitution, they were working it now, and working it with a vengeance.

Instead of accepting the hand of co-operation extended by the Muslim League, the Congress demanded a liquidation of the League and complete subordination to the Congress. That was an attitude unhelpful to Muslims, unhelpful to Hindus and to the country. Mr. Jinnah then accused the Congress of corrupting Muslim members in the legislatures by offering them Ministerships. Such tactics were not becoming a mighty organisation like the Congress, he said. Mr. Jinnah next referred to the "machinations and onslaughts of the Congress on Muslim culture and interests in some of the Congress Provinces. Among them he mentioned the flag question, the singing of *Bande Mataram* and attempts to introduce Hindi. The latest anti-Muslim moves were the introduction of textbooks and school uniforms without consulting any responsible Muslim opinion.

**Absurd**

It was absurd to suggest, he added, that Muslim minorities in the Congress provinces were aggressive. They were only trying to defend themselves and their culture. The trouble was with the power-intoxicated Congressmen. They seemed to be under the impression that they were ruling the country and went about flouting the Muslims and taunting them.

Referring to the Muslim League programme, Mr. Jinnah asked: "Let us know what is the Congress programme? At present a great deal of our time and energy are taken up in devising measures of self-defence. But we have done much constructive work. Our membership has gone into lakhs and today we are a force to be reckoned with. I still want to organise the Muslims to make them a greater power to take their proper share in national life. Even if the Muslims had to submit themselves to a Hindu Raj, even if they had to petition to the Hindus, still they would carry greater weight if they were united and spoke with one voice."

Muslims and Hindus, Mr. Jinnah observed, were poles apart in faith, education, culture and philosophy. They were two distinct races or nationalities. It was a natural thing that whoever had greater power would influence and undermine the other's culture. He wondered how in a country like this democracy could be worked successfully. The Congress was swearing by democracy because it suited the more powerful communities. In his view, there was no such thing as democracy in any part of the world today. They talked of democracy in India, because it suited the Hindus. For them it was a matter of counting heads. What they had to consider and ponder over was whether a democratic system of parliamentary government was suited to such a vast country with different nationalities.

**Hands Off Muslims**

In his view, it was an impossibility. What should be the future constitution was a matter for them to decide. The Muslims did not want to harm the Hindus. In turn, they wanted to be left free to develop their interests and culture. They would not countenance any subordination to the Hindus. After criticising the Congress Muslim mass contact movement and the efforts to form Congress Governments in Sind, Mr. Jinnah declared: "I say to the Congress 'hands off the Muslims' Trust us

and trust our honour. We do not want to be protected by you. We shall take care of ourselves. We have no designs against you except that we should have proper share in the national government of this country."

*The Star of India, August 16, 1939*

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## 295

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the motion regarding consideration of the "Report of the Pacific Locomotive Committee, Simla, August 30, 1939.

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow** (Member for Railways and Communications): Sir, I move:

"That the Report of the Pacific Locomotive Committee be taken into consideration."

I need not dwell on the circumstances in which this Committee was appointed because these will be within the recollection of this House. Just about a year ago they voted a supplementary grant for the purpose of defraying the costs of the Committee. The report has been in the hands of Honourable Members for about two months, and I trust that they have studied it carefully. The Committee had a difficult and arduous task and I am sure All Honourable Members will agree with me that they have brought to it both a wealth of varied experience and very devoted care and attention. I might mention that they covered 7,000 miles of our Railways, travelling frequently at speeds at which we would not allow Members of this House or the public to be carried, and they visited all our leading broad-gauge workshops. I shall have occasion to recur later to the value to India of this report. But I might mention that it is not only to

India that I believe it will be found valuable: the British Minister of Transport, speaking a short time ago, said of this Committee's work that "this is a magnificent example of collaboration and on behalf of the Ministry I welcome all the work that has been done". This report will be studied in other countries also and I believe that it makes a contribution of lasting value to the problems with which it deals. It puts not merely laymen like ourselves but those who have made a lifelong study of these matters in possession of new light on this very difficult subject

Now, the report is a long and complex one and, obviously, I cannot attempt to deal with more than its broad conclusions in a speech of this kind. So we have circulated to Honourable Members a pamphlet which deals with the detailed recommendations and gives a brief indication of the action which the Railway Board are taking or the action which is contemplated on each of these recommendations. I do not propose to refer to these details further in this speech; but, of course, if any Honourable Member wishes to raise any point arising out of that pamphlet, I shall do my best to deal with it in my reply.

. . . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I do not wish for a single moment to urge the Government to stop its business because some Party is not present here but I do urge upon the Government to carefully consider the request of this House to adjourn the debate for a reasonable time. You must remember that after all the non-official Members have got many other things to attend to.

**An Honourable Member on the Government Benches**: So have we.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** It is all very well for the Government to bring up this business. You are paid to attend to your business. We have got many other things to attend to, besides attending to the business of the Legislature. We do not get anything more than Rs.20 a day. Therefore don't you compare your difficulties with ours. It is a fact that many of the Honourable Members have got very important matters to attend to. You have got the Secretariat behind you. You have got all that army of staff sitting in the office box to assist you. You send this agenda to us about the end of August and you expect all the Members to be ready to debate and discuss these recommendations which are of a complicated and technical character. I can understand the attitude of the Leader of the House. It is perfectly justifiable. We are not going to stop our business because some people are not present here. That I can understand. I, therefore, urge upon the Government that time should be allowed to the Members to study this report and not to force us to a division. There is no urgency. The Government can bring this matter up on the agenda after ten days or a week, so that Honourable Members may look into it properly and be ready to participate in the debate in an intelligent manner.

. . . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There is a motion before the House by Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan that the debate do stand adjourned. That means, that the debate will have to be adjourned indefinitely but other suggestions have been made that some time may be allowed to Honourable Members to study the report more carefully. These are two distinct matters.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** May I move an amendment to the motion of Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan – that the debate be adjourned till the 15th September.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim):

The Chair does not think any amendment is necessary. A suggesion like that can well be put before Government wihtout any motion or amendment.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** An amendment has been suggested by Mr. Jinnah that the matter be postponed for a week or ten days. I was going to support that suggestion. Government should accept the suggestion as a sort of gesture to the non-official side.

. . . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** But we may have to discuss them.

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow:** But if there is a desire to take this up at a slightly later date, I think we could meet the desire of the House on that matter; and this matter could be taken up after Lunch on any half day, if that will suit the desire of the House.

**An Honourable Member:** Not today?

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow:** On some later day, immediately after Lunch, if that will suit the House.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Provided it is not brought up at least for a week.

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow**: Yes.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan**: Then I withdraw my motion.

The motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

*Legislative Assembly Debate, 1939,*
*Vol. V, pp. 151, 163-64*

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## 296

### Speech in the Central Legislature Assembly on the Resolution regarding "Payment of contribution from Railway Revenues to General Revenues", Simla, September 4, 1939.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman** (Finance Member): Sir, I move the following Resolution: "That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that railway revenues be declared not liable, before the 1st April, 1942, or before the fixation under section 187(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, of the sum therein referred to, whichever is earlier, to repay to the depreciation Reserve Fund maintained for Indian State-owned railways, the balance outstanding on the 1st April, 1937, of loans taken from the fund to meet railway deficits or to pay to general revenues any contributions or deficiency in contributions due under the resolution of this Assembly of the 20th September, 1924, in respect of the period beginning on the 1st April, 1931, and ending on the 31st March, 1939."

Sir, it will be within the memory of Honourable Members that on the 7th October, 1937, this House adopted a Resolution which recommended to the Governor General in Council that a declaration very similar, almost identical in terms to the one now before the House, should be made which should have effect up to the 31st March, 1940. The object of the Resolution was explained at that time and the Resolution was accepted by this House after some discussion. Now, the position at the present moment is that the sum referred to in section 187(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, namely, the capital debt of railways to the Central Government has .....

.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan

Urban): Sir, it had been my opinion, and now I can say that it is my considered opinion that the Government of India are really incapable of managing any big business. We had a convention of this House which was adopted by means of a Resolution on the 20th September, 1934, and the net result of that convention is that in 1939 the moratorium which was accepted by the House provisionally is to be extended now to the year 1942 with the result that we cannot make any payment or that we should not be liable to pay the depreciation and that we should be exempted from our obligations to make the contribution to the general revenues. This is the net result. May I ask the Government this: don't you think that it is high time now for you to appoint a competent Committee to examine the whole question thoroughly and see what can be done for this problem which is now facing us? Mr. Buss holds the view that it is no use carrying on this agony, and he would like to apply a surgical operation. Now, may I request the Government whether they would give us an undertaking now? We cannot support this Resolution. I am unable to support the suggestion that the Government should be allowed to carry on as they propose to carry on, and I ask the Government to announce as early as possible the appointment of a competent Committee which will go into the whole question thoroughly and decide once for all what a responsible Government should do.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: Sir, I hoped that I had made it clear that this did not seem to me to be the occasion for a review of railway finances. I pointed out that there were certain constitutional arrangements between the Central and the Provincial Governments which required us to calculate the amounts to be paid to the Provinces in a certain way, that we were bound to calculate them in the way in which they are now being calculated and that so long as we were under that constitutional compulsion, the only effect of endeavouring to reorganise the arrangements in regard to railway finances would

be that the general taxpayer would be called upon to produce the contribution to the Provinces.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I have quite appreciated that. My answer has been if you had followed me, that I am not prepared to agree to take the responsibility. Government might do what they think proper.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: The position of the Honourable Member, the Leader of the Muslim League Party, as I understand it, is that whether or not this be inevitable constitutionally and practically, and even if we have in effect no option but to do this, he washes his hands of this business. In that case, we understand exactly, where we are:

Most of the discussion, as I am afraid I expected, has ranged over the field of railway finance, on topics which I submit are more suitable for the occasion of the debate on the railway budget. I have no doubt that my Honourable colleague in charge of Railways will be prepared to deal with those criticisms on a suitable occasion. I would only draw attention to one or two salient facts. My Honourable friends, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, talked as though Indian railways were a concern which was in the last desperate throes of utter bankruptcy. It is a most amazing thing that this bankrupt tottering concern continues to produce the not unimpressive figure of 29 crores a year of interest on its debt, that it does not owe a single anna of interest on capital provided for it, that it is also at the present moment contributing 12½ crores a year towards the depreciation reserve....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**:..... And it does not pay a single pie to the shareholders?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: I would invite my Honourable friend's attention to the condition of railways throughout the world and whether they are expected to pay to the debenture holders something over four per cent and

in addition to distribute large dividends. I know the difference between debenture interest and equity interest.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Owner.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: That is true. I was merely referring to the general basis on which railways are being administered throughout the world. I was merely asking my Honourable friend to point out whether any large system of railway administration in addition to paying a steady four and something per cent to the debenture holders was also providing a glittering dividend to ordinary shareholders. I am not aware that there is any country in the world which agrees that the ordinary shareholders should receive these attractive dividends on a public utility concern of this kind.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: What about Company-managed railways?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: If you want us to go back to Company management, that is another matter. I was merely drawing attention to one or two important facts which do distinguish the case of Indian Railways from that of a complete bankrupt who ought to file his petition in the court tomorrow.

There is one other feature of Indian railways which my Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, seems to have forgotten. He suggested that whereas all departments of Government are now offering reduced salaries to new entrants, the Railway Department was going on according to its own sweet will and pleasure and according to its old bad habits. The position is — and I should have thought that the Honourable Member would have been aware of it — that the Railway Department like every other department of Government has introduced reduced rate of pay for new entrants and has for a period of nearly nine years been paying those reduced rates.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan**: Only to smaller paid

officers and not to higher paid officers.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: As far as I am aware there is reduction of nearer 40 per cent than 30 per cent. I do not consider that this is the occasion on which I should range over the whole subject of railway finance and I would only say in reply to my Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, that I do not admit the analogy of readjustment of finances between two departments of Government and the repudiation of debt contracted between two entirely unconnected persons. The position here is that we have a large Government department with which we made certain financial arrangements. As a result of the experience both on the civil side and railway side, we now agree that certain adjustments should be made and I cannot for the life of me see how the principle of repudiation of debt is involved in that. If there had been any question of repudiation by the Government of India or by any department of the Government of a sum of the order of 60 crores. I should not have expected to be able to borrow at three per cent in the money market for 25 years.

Now, to turn to the point of view of the Muslim League Party, I regret that they are unable to accord their support to this Resolution which, as I say, appears to me to propose the only course which it is open to us to adopt. I regret also that I cannot see this is a suitable occasion for instituting a committee to go into the whole question of railway finance. Whether or not such a course of action would be desirable on any other occasion I am not prepared to say or to discuss at the present moment. But what I am quite clear is that this Resolution is essentially one which regulates the relations of Central finances and Provincial fiances. There is no call for a committee of any kind. This is essentially a simple issue.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Perhaps the Honourable Member has not understood me. I do not suggest that a committee should be appointed to consider this Resolution. I do not suggest that.

What I suggested was that the Government should appoint a committee as early as possible to examine the whole question of railway finances in the light of the existing convention and what should be done.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: I admit that I misunderstood the suggestion. I understood from the Honourable Member, Mr. Muhammad Nauman, that this question should be gone into now by a committee. In that case I will not deal with that point. I have nothing more to add except to commend the Resolution to the House.

Mr. President (The Honourale Sir Abdur Rahim) The Question is.....

*The Legilsative Assembly Debates, 1939*
*Vol. V, pp. 308, 318-21,*

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## 297

### Statement after his interview with the Viceroy, Simla, September 7, 1939

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All Indian Muslim League, in a statement to the Press, says:

"As already announced, I had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy on September 4, when His Excellency explained to me the situation as much as he was able to do. Naturally I cannot disclose the contents of this conversation between him and myself. In the midst of these dark clouds, let us hope for the silver lining. His Excellency is going to address both the Houses of the Central Legislature on the 11th and the public will then be in a better position to understand the situation.

"One cannot help deploring and condemning the resort

to arms and brute forces. It does not redound to the credit of the statesmanship and civilisation of Europe that an honourable solution could not be found. It is quite obvious that we are facing now a grave situation which is bound to result in horrible destruction of life and property and will mean the greatest disaster all the world over. This is not the time for me to disapprove or approve of the policy of His Majesty's Government. The crisis has come and we have to face and bear it as best as we can. Naturally my sympathies are with the peoples of Poland, France and Britain as we are at present a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. If, however, Britain wants to prosecute this war successfully it must take Muslim India into its confidence through their accredited organisation the All India Muslim League and so shape its policy as to apply the principles enunciated by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent broadcast soon after the declaration of war on Sunday last. Mussalmans want justice and fair play.

"I will place the views of His Excellency the Viceroy before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League which is going to meet in Delhi on September 7 and in the meantime I appeal to the Mussalmans to stand solidly and unitedly under the flag of the All India Muslim League. Let us pray that in this grave hour we shall be guided by Providence to arrive at the right decision in the best interest of the Muslim India." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, September 9, 1939*

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## 298

### Speech at a Ladies Meeting, Hyderabad (Dn), September 28, 1939

*A large gathering of Muslim women welcomed Mr. M. A.*

*Jinnah at a meeting held at the Zamrud Mahal Talkies on Thursday morning.*

*On arrival Mr. Jinnah was presented with a Guard of Honour by young volunteers who showered flowers on him as he ascended the dias.*

*After the singing of national songs composed by Iqbal, Miss Mahmuda Saifuddin, in a brief speech welcomed Mr. Jinnah to Hyderabad.*

*She congratulated the ladies of Hyderabad on their awakening and hoped that they would continue to organise themselves and be prepared to defend the cause of their community which was the urgent need of the times.*

Mr. Jinnah, speaking in Urdu, expressed his appreciation of the part Muslim ladies were playing in promoting the community's welfare. He added that no nation could afford to neglect the rights of its women and yet achieve the goal of independence. He advised the young women to make the best of their opportunities and prepare themselves to take their place along with the women of other communities as the future of the Muslim community depended on their co-operation with their men as wives and mothers.

In conclusion he warmly thanked them for the cordial welcome.

*Mrs. Humayun Mirza and Mrs. Sufi proposed a vote of thanks. At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Jinnah was profusely garlanded.* (A.P.)

*The Hyderabad Bulletin, September 30, 1939*

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## 299

### Speech at the Annual Dinner of the Old Boys Association of the Osmania University, Hydereabad(Dn.), September 28, 1939.

"I did not expect that, even at this festive board where a galaxy of intellects have assembled, I would be involved in discussing political problems confronting India. But as reference has been made to the matter, I must assure you that I yield to none in the determination to safeguard the interests of my country, nor would I yield to anybody in striving for the attainment of freedom for my country.

"I am essentially a practical man; I have been in practical politics for over a quarter of a century. The words 'nationalism' and 'nationalist' have undergone many changes in their definition and significance. Some people have a dictionary of their own, but within the honest meaning of the term I still remain a nationalist.

"I have always believed in a Hindu-Muslim pact. But such a pact can only be an honourable one and not a pact which will mean the destruction of one and the survival of the other. The Congress High Command, unfortunately, are not prepared to grasp the hand of friendship, but would like to destroy the very hand which offered friendship. One does not see much light at present but you never can say when the two communities would unite. We have a recent example of the German-Soviet pact between two nations which were the bitterest of enemies.

"I say to every Mussalman that Islam expects you, one and all, to do your duty and stand by your people as one nation."

*The Times of India, September 30, 1939*

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## 300

### Speech at a meeting of the Osmania University Students' Union, Hyderabad (Dn), September 30, 1939.

The democratic parliamentary system of Government is most unsuited to the genius of the people of India, and having regard to be conditions of living in this country will not work successfully – observed Mr. M. A. Jinnah at the Osmania University Hall in the course of his address at the Osmaina University Students' Union.

Mr. Jinnah said that he had been vehemently criticised by the leaders belonging to other school of thought and certain section of the press for the decision of the Working Committee of the Muslim League but he would ask all his critics to give consideration to the arguments advanced by him and not come to hasty conclusions. His experience of democratic countries including America where Mr. Abraham Lincoln first coined the phrase the government of the people, for the people by the people, showed that even that country had not practised democracy in the real sense of the term, there being millions of Negroes having no voice in the administration. In the case of Britain, it was a different affair and democracy was possible there owing to the homogeneous character of the nation with no difference of culture or ideology and they had built up that system for centuries. Conditions in India were different and leaving aside the communal questions, there were other considerations standing in the way of the introduction of this form of Government, first and foremost being illiteracy of the people and the incapacity of the voters to judge independently for themselves.

**Freedom and Democracy**

Those who cried from their house-tops for freedom and democracy, Mr. Jinnah continued, did not actually mean it, their idea of democracy being the rule of three to one, three

dominating the one. His attitude was declared as inconsistent by the Congress daily of Bengal, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in view of the fact that he himself favoured the majority rule in the Provinces where the Muslims dominated, but this criticism could not hold good owing to the fact that, when the Hindus dominated as many as seven Provinces, it was only fair that the Muslims should be given the same accommodation in the Provinces where they were in a majority.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said that any attempt to drive a wedge between the Muslim League and other Mussalmans as was being done by a certain section of the press who questioned the representative character of the League could not succeed for obvious reasons.

*The Hindu, October 1, 1939*

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## 301

### Statement on Lord Zetland's Speech in the House of Lords, Hyderabad Deccan, October 1, 1939.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has issued the following statement:

"My attention has been drawn to Lord Zetland's speech in the House of Lords, as also to the statement by Mr. Gandhi appealing to British statemen as a friend of Britain. I regret to say that Mr. Gandhi, who is the sole interpreter and dictator of the Congress, has couched his statement in language which once more creates the impression that the Congress is suffering in the first instance from inability to face realities and is obsessed that it alone represents India.

"Secondly, while it is championing the cause of democracy in India and desires to do away with the democratic imperialism of Great Britain, the Congress has in the last two

and a half years not only declared itself as a Fascist and authoritarian body but has actually translated this principle into actual practice.

"Thirdly, it is reviving throughout India the Hindu renaissance and domination and supremacy of Hinduism over the entire sub-continent.

"Unless the High Command of the Congress is thoroughly cured of these maladies, they will not be able to advance the progress of India which we all have at heart.

"As regards Lord Zetland's speech, I would prefer to wait until I have had my interview with the viceroy."

Recounting his impressions of his stay in Hyderabad, Mr. Jinnah said that he had found Muslims generally sound in head and heart and that there was a remarkable unity among all sections.

Mr. Jinnah added: 'I am glad to say that I am leaving Hyderabad with the impression that the fears and apprehensions of Muslims will be allayed and that His Exalted Highness's Government will give Muslims the necessary assurances which will satisfy them. My humble advice to Muslims here is that they should stand united and organise themselves to play a part worthy of their past history and heritage in this great Dominion of the Nizam."(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, October 3, 1939.*

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## 302

### Message to the Muslims of Hyderabad, October 1, 1939

"Recounting his impressions of his stay in Hyderabad,

Mr. Jinnah said that he had found Muslims generally sound in head and heart, a remarkable unity among all sections, masses and intelligentsia and what is more, a welcome awakening among women. Mr. Jinnah added "There are, no doubt, a few who are either oppressed by fear or are indifferent or have their own axe to grind. There are certain apprehensions in the minds of Muslims regarding the reforms proposals recently published by the Government of Hyderabad and I have found that His Exalted Highness is keenly alive to the situation. I am glad to say that I am leaving Hyderabad with the impression that the fears and apprehensions of Muslims will be allayed and that His Exalted Highness' Government will give the Muslims the necessary assurances which will satisfy them. My humble advice to Muslims here is that they should stand united and organise themselves to play a party worthy of their past history and heritage in this great Dominion of the Nizam". (A.P.I.).

*The Times of India, October 2, 1939*

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## 303

### Message to the Muslim Youth of India, October 4, 1939.

*Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in response to a request from Mr. M. Nusrat Hassan, Vice President of the Aligarh Muslim University Union for a message to the Muslim youth of India replied as follows :-*

"Stand solidly with complete unity by the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League which is the only organization that can speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India.

"Muslim League as you know stands for complete freedom of India, not for one community only but for all the

peoples composing this great sub-continent; and stands for free and independent Islam.

"Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty to his people, and no service or sacrifice should be too great on the part of anyone of us at this most critical time in the history of India in order to establish and maintain an honourable place worthy of our traditions and past heritage, specially now that we are facing this terrible war and dangerous and grave international situation which is bound to create a new order of things all over the world.

"I am confident that young Muslim India upon whom will fall the main burden of helping and guiding the future and destiny of ninety millions of Mussalmans will not fail them but would be unhesitatingly prepared for any service or sacrifice, when called upon to do so."

*The Star of India, October 6, 1939*

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## 304

### Statement to the Associated Press regarding representation of Minorities, New Delhi, October 5, 1939.

"Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League informed the *Associated Press* that ever since his arrival in Delhi he has been receiving messages from leaders and representatives of the minority communities, urging upon him to press their claim before the Viceroy. Amongst these messages there was one from Dr. Ambedkar which ran as follows :- "I had asked Mr. Sivaraj, M.L.A., to see you on his way to Madras and to request you to press the claim of the Depressed Classes for special recognition before the Viceroy when you meet him. He writes to me that he met you and that you desired to have the

same in writing authorizing you to act as our spokesman. It is therefore to strengthen your hands that I am writing this letter. Mr. Sivaraj will also be writing to you in this behalf. Trusting you will do the needful."

Mr. Sivaraj, M.L.A. (Central) wiring from Madras on October 4 said :-

"Please as champion of minorities cause safeguard scheduled classes interests in talks with His Excellency the Viceroy."

Sir K.V. Reddi wiring from Madras on October 4 said :-

"Kindly peruse my statement published in *Madras Mail*, October 1. Am responsible for correctness of facts stated therein. Let not non-Congress people be thrown to wolves."

*The Statesman, October 6, 1939*

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## 305

**Released to the press, correspondence which passed between him and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, New Delhi, October 13, 1939.**

"Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has released to the Press copies of the following correspondence which passed between him and the Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in regard to the allegations against the Congress Provincial Governments.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in a letter to Mr. Jinnah from Birla House, New Delhi, dated October 5, 1939 wrote :-

"Dear Mr. Jinnah, - In the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, passed recently in Delhi, reference has been made to Provincial Governments. It is

stated that provincial autonomy in several provinces has resulted in the domination of the Hindus over the Moslem minorities whose life and liberty, property and honour are in danger, and even their religious rights and culture are being assailed and annihilated every day under the Congress Governments in various provinces. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also informed me that you mentioned this matter to him in the course of a recent conversation.

"We feel that these charges are wholly unfounded and are based on misapprehension and one-sided reports that might have reached you and the League. The Governments concerned have inquired into the matter whenever such charges have been made and have denied them. On a previous occasion we expressed our willingness to have any specific instances investigated by an impartial authority. We feel strongly and I am sure you will agree with us, that such charges, when seriously made should be inquired into and either substantiated or disproved. We would like this course to be adopted in regard to any specific instances that are put forward. If you agree, we could request the highest judicial authority in India, Sir M. Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court, to inquire into this matter. In the event of his not being available some other person of a similar status and judicial position might be approached.

"I shall gladly place this matter before the Working Committee of the Congress and get them to pass a formal resolution to this effect.

"I am leaving for Wardha to-day and shall be obliged to you if you will send an early reply. I shall be in Wardha for about a week." Yours sincerely, (Sd.) Rajendra Prasad.

**Mr. Jinnah's Reply**

Mr. Jinnah, in replying to him on October 6 from 8-B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi, wrote :-

"Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad, - I am in receipt of your letter dated October 5, 1939. I beg to inform you that I have already placed the whole case before the Viceroy and the Governor-General, and have requested him to take up the matter without delay as he and the Governors of the provinces have been expressly authorized under the Constitution and are entrusted with the responsibility to protect the rights and the interest of the minorities.

"The matter is now under His Excellency's consideration and he is the proper authority to take such action and adopt such measures as would meet our requirements and would restore complete sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Mussalmans in those provinces where the Congress Ministries are in charge of the administration.

"In these circumstances I do not wish to discuss further the various statements made in your letter as it is unnecessary to do so, but I must say that some of them are wholly inaccurate." Yours sincerely, (Sd.) M. A. Jinnah (A.P.I.)

*The Statesman, October, 14, 1939.*

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## 306

### Statement regarding Viceroy's statement, New Delhi, October 18, 1939

Mr. Jinnah told the Associated Press today that he was unable to make any comment on the Viceroy's statement at this stage. He pointed out that he had called a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League on October 22 when the viceroy's statement and its implications would be discussed and the attitude of the Muslim League defined, and it was not possible to anticipate this attitude by any immediate expressions of opinion.

Mr. Jinnah expressed the hope that no Muslim League leader would make any statement regarding the Viceroy's announcement before the meeting of the League Working Committee. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, October 19, 1939.*

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## 307

### Interview to the Manchester Guardian, New Delhi, October 25, 1939

"Until the Congress come down to earth and face realities they will be wholly responsible for blocking the progress of India."

The above statements are made by Mr. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an interview to the "*Manchester Guardian*," explaining his recent statement made in Bombay regarding the unsuitability of democratic institutions for India.

Mr. Jinnah says:-

"I am obliged to the "*Manchester Guardian*" for the courtesy shown to me in giving me an opportunity to place my views briefly before the British public. It is difficult to make an average Englishman understand the position which is facing us Muslims to-day fully. But I shall mention a few salient points which will give some idea of the difficulties that are confronting us.

"The Muslims have always had their fears and apprehensions of even a representative form of government, and far more of democracy in its strict application to India. Since the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1908 and the historical Lucknow Pact between Hindus and Muslims in 1916, their

insistence on separate electorates, weightage and statutory safeguards have been a clear indication of those fears. But since the inauguration of the new Provincial Constitutions it has been established beyond doubt, particularly by the way in which the Congress High Command has pursued its policies and programmes, that the sole aim and object of the Congress is to annihilate every other organisation in the country and to set itself up as a Fascist and authoritarian organisation of the worst type.

**Muslims and Democracy**

"Having regard to the thirty-five millions of voters, the bulk of whom are totally ignorant, illiterate and untutored, living in centuries-old superstitutions of the worst type, thoroughly antagonistic to each other, culturally and socially, the working of this constitution has clearly brought out that it is impossible to work a democratic parliamentary government in India. It has definitely resulted in a permanent communal majority government ruling over minorities, exercising its powers and functions and utilising the machinery of government to establish the domination and supremacy of the majority communal rule over the minorities.

"Therefore, in my judgement, apart from other reasons into which I need not go in detail, democracy can only mean "Hindu Raj" all over India. This is a position to which Muslims will never submit. Besides, there are 60 million untouchable and other minorities such as six million Christians, Jews, Parsis, and the Domiciled British. Therefore, the Muslim League after very careful consideration, has come to the conclusion that the entire problem of India's future Constitution must be considered '*de novo*;' and that no declaration or commitment should be made by His Majesty's Government without the approval and consent of the Muslim League which is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India.

**Misleading Propaganda**

"The British public may be misled by certain propaganda that the Muslims are against the freedom of India. We want freedom and liberty' but the question is, whose freedom and liberty? Muslim India wants to be free and enjoy liberty to the fullest extent and develop its own political, economic and social and cultural institutions according to its own genius and not to be dominated and crushed, while wishing Hindu India well and giving it fullest scope to do likewise.

"I know that the Englishman who has developed in his own country a system of parliamentary government cannot think of anything else but what has worked and been developed through the centuries as the only pattern for every other country in the world. But he must dismiss from his mind the experiments tried in Canada and Australia where, after all the foundations of government are suited to the genius of the people, mainly British in stock. It is very doubtful as to how it will work in South Africa where there are two powerful rival communities like the Boers and the British, and even here the differences between them are not so fundamental as between Hindus and Muslims. Even Ireland, after decades of union, did not submit to the British Parliament in spite of the close affinity with the British and the Scotch. I may refer to Lord Morleys dictum that the fur coat of Canada would not do for the extremely tropical climate of India.

**Congress Claim Unfounded**

"The Congress insistence that they and they alone represent the people of India is not only without any foundation, but is highly detrimental to the progress and advancement of India. They know that they do not represent the whole of India — not even all the Hindus and certainly not the Muslims, who are often wrongly described as a minority in the ordinary sense as understood in the West. They are in a majority in the North

West and Bengal all along the corridor stretching from Karachi to Calcutta. That part of the Indian Continent alone has double the population of Great Britain and more than ten times the area. Until the Congress come down to earth and face realities, they will be wholly responsible for blocking the progress of India, and unless they give up the Fascist and authoritarian basis of their policy and programme which they are vigorously following, there cannot be any peace in India."

Mr. Jinnah was next asked for his views regarding certain schemes put forward by Muslim League leaders like Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and his proposal for coalition Ministries in the provinces, representing the Congress and the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah said:-

**Schemes and Proposals**

"There are many proposals and schemes, and importance is attached to these schemes, particularly to the one suggested by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in view of the position he holds in the League and as the Premier of the Punjab. Although his proposals may create an impression that they have emanated indirectly from the Muslim League, I want to make it clear that the League is not responsible for any of them directly or indirectly. As a matter of fact, we have appointed a sub-committee to examine the whole question thoroughly and when this sub-committee has made its report, it will be examined by the Working Committee of the League in order to take such steps as it may think proper. Until that stage has been reached, the Muslim League feels in no way bound by any schemes or proposals that are propounded by various people."

*The New Era, November 2, 1939.*

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## 308

### Statement regarding Khaksars' demands, New Delhi, October 26, 1939

Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a statement to the Press says:

"Dr. Katju saw me in Delhi on October 18 on behalf of the United Provinces Government in connection with the situation created with regard to the Khaksars and I placed before him the proposals of the Khaksars, and after full discussion he promised me that he would go back to Lucknow and confer with his colleagues and finally let me know on or before October 25 how far the United Provinces Government are prepared to meet the demands formulated by the Khaksars. I received from him last night the proposals on behalf of the Government showing how far they are prepared to meet the Khaksars' demands. I have forwarded the U.P. Government's proposals in answer to the Khaksars' demands to Allama Mashriqui today for him to consider and deal with them in such manner as he may be advised.

I may make it clear that my position from the commencement was not that of an arbitrator; nor had either party agreed to abide by my advice. I tried to bring about a settlement between the Khaksars, as their sympathizer and friend, and the U.P. Government in the best interests of the Muslims of India, as the situation was causing enormous feeling among the Muslims all over India." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, October 27, 1939*

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## 309

### Statement to the Associated Press, New Delhi, October 27, 1939.

The attitude that the Muslim League will adopt when

the Congress Ministries resign is indicated by Mr. Jinnah in a statement to the Associated Press:

He says: "I have already sent to the Viceroy a copy of the resolution of the Working Committee about the Working Committee's decision taken on October 22. Until I hear from him I do not wish to express any opinion with regard to the debate that took place in the House of Commons and particularly the speech made by Sir Samuel Hoare on behalf of the British Government.

"I have been informed that the Madras Ministry has tendered its resignation and that other Congress Ministries may similarly follow.

"So far as the Muslim League Parties are concerned in the various legislatures, although it is premature to decide finally as to what course we should adopt, it seems to me that it would be inadvisable to consider the question of forming interim ministries where the Congress Party is in an overwhelming majority. In the event of the Governors deciding to act under Section 93 we shall have to consider the terms of the proclamation and the provisions that may be embodied therein."(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, October 29, 1939.*

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## 310

### Reply to Mr. Gandhi's article on Hindu-Muslim Unity, published in the "Harijan", New Delhi, November 4, 1939.

I have carefully read the article of Mr. Gandhi on Hindu-Muslim unity reproduced from the *Harijan* in the local papers of this morning. It has shocked me that the accusation for which

there is not the slightest foundation should have been broadcast in an article penned by Mr. Gandhi. He could not have said anything worse about me or about the Mussalmans of India at this juncture.

Mr. Ghandi says, "Janab Jinnah Sahib looks to the British power to safeguard the Muslim rights. Nothing that the Congress can do or concede will satisfy him; for he can always, and naturally from his own stand-point, ask far more than the British can give or guarantee. Therefore, there can be no limit to the Muslim League demands."

This is far from the truth and is a libel on the whole Muslim community of India of which a person in the position of Mr. Gandhi should not have been guilty. Mr. Gandhi further says that the Congress does not represent the Mussalmans and one would like to know then whom it actually represents.

Mr. Gandhi further says that the Congress had never represented the Hindus as such. That function is claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha. I have made it abundantly clear on more than one occasion and it has been proved to demonstration that the Congress is a Hindu body. It is the same coin with a stamp on one side of the Hindu Mahasabha and on the other that of the Congress, and what one speaks out openly the other practices. I assure Mr. Gandhi that the Mussalmans of India depend upon their own inherent strength. We are determined to fight to the last ditch for rights to which we are entitled in spite of the British or the Congress. We do not depend upon anybody. (A.P.)

*The Statesman, November 6, 1939.*

**Another Version:**

"What can one think of the responsible leaders of the Congress including Mr. Gandhi? Mr. Gandhi, in his article in the "*Harijan*," dated October 21, starts by stating that in my reply to

the Congress President Dr. Rajendra Prasad's letter which offered to refer the Congress League question to an arbitration tribunal, I said that I had already placed the whole case before His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General. Mr. Gandhi said, "It is unfortunate that he has rejected Rajendra Babu's proposal. Is it a rejection of the hand of friendship?"

I ask any intelligent man to judge for himself whether it was an offer to refer the Congress-League question to arbitration. In some other quarters it is said that the hand of friendship which was offered in that letter had been rejected. Let us examine the whole position.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his letter said that he would get the Congress Working Committee to pass a resolution to appoint Sir Maurice Gwyer or some other persons to investigate only any specific charges which we formulate against the Ministries of the Congress-governed Provinces.

The first question arises as to what is the authority of the Working Committee, legal or constitutional. Allegations are against the Ministries of certain provinces which are responsible to their legislatures and to the electorates of their respective provinces. It is true that the Congress Working Committee is a Fascist Grand Council and the Congress Ministries have been reduced to a position of being merely their creatures. But we cannot acquiesce in that position. The party accused are not only the Ministries but also the Congress Working Committee, whose *ukase* is carried out by the Ministries.

Now let us see how the President of the Congress begins his offer. He starts by saying that our allegations and charges are without any foundation whatsoever. So the accused has already passed his judgement and given his decision. But after that he proceeds that he will get the Congress Working Committee to pass a resolution to appoint an impartial and independent tribunal if we specify our charges. So, they have

already decided the terms of reference and the scope and authority of the tribunal.

Then, again what power can they confer upon the tribunal to summon witnesses, to take evidence on oath and call for the production of documents that might be required? Further more, to whom would this independent and impartial tribunal make its report for any action to be taken in the light of its findings? I suppose, to the Congress Working Committee, the accused, who will be the judge finally as to what action, if any, is to be taken against the Ministries concerned.

It is a mentality which has gone beyond any sense of responsibility. The whole thing would be a travesty of justice. (A.P.I.)

*The Assam Herald, November 6, 1939.*

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## 311

### Speech at a Meeting, Bombay, November 7, 1939.

"I am always willing to come to a settlement with my Hindu Bretheren on equal terms. I have no ill-will against them" said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a Muslim meeting.

"After the declaration of the war," said Mr. Jinnah, "a grave situation has arisen in this country. M. Gandhi was so moved when he visualised the destruction of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament that he offered the unconditional support of the Congress to the British cause. But he found himself in a minority of one in this attitude. The Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee passed resolutions demanding that the Congress would not support or co-operate with Britain in the persecution of the war unless Britain made India a free and independent nation with freedom

for the people to frame a constitution by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of the widest possible franchise.

"But the British Government declared that they reserved for themselves entire and complete right to frame the constitution for India, after consulting the various interests in the country. While both claimed the right to be the sole arbiter and judge in the matter the position of the Muslim League was that they did not recognise the rights of either to foist on the Muslims a constitution which did not meet with the agreement and approval of the Muslim League. And we shall fight to the last ditch to see that such a constitution is not foisted on us.

"The minorities," added Mr. Jinnah, "had a right to see that not only their interests were protected but to know what sort of constitution was applied to the country.

**Fascist Grand Council**

With a Muslim majority in four provinces, Mr. Jinnah observed, it was wrong to say that Muslims were a minority community. He was willing to come to an agreement with his Hindu brethren on terms of absolute equality, and not as a minority community with a majority community. He said he had no ill-will towards the Hindus, but so long as the present High Command of the Congress remained as a sort of "Fascist Grand Council" there was little hope of a settlement.

Mr. Jinnah next refuted the cry that Muslim League had denounced democracy. Democracy in the abstract was quite different from democracy as practised. Democracy was like the Chameleon changing its complexion according to the environments. Democracy was not the same in England as it was in France or America. Islam believed in equality, liberty and fraternity but not the democracy of the western type - the democratic parliamentary system in which party government was the basic principle of the constitution. Such a system had failed in India, where the Hindus were in a majority of three to one against the Muslims.

already decided the terms of reference and the scope and authority of the tribunal.

Then, again what power can they confer upon the tribunal to summon witnesses, to take evidence on oath and call for the production of documents that might be required? Further more, to whom would this independent and impartial tribunal make its report for any action to be taken in the light of its findings? I suppose, to the Congress Working Committee, the accused, who will be the judge finally as to what action, if any, is to be taken against the Ministries concerned.

It is a mentality which has gone beyond any sense of responsibility. The whole thing would be a travesty of justice. (A.P.I.)

*The Assam Herald, November 6, 1939.*

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## 311

### Speech at a Meeting, Bombay, November 7, 1939.

"I am always willing to come to a settlement with my Hindu Bretheren on equal terms. I have no ill-will against them" said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a Muslim meeting.

"After the declaration of the war," said Mr. Jinnah, "a grave situation has arisen in this country. M. Gandhi was so moved when he visualised the destruction of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament that he offered the unconditional support of the Congress to the British cause. But he found himself in a minority of one in this attitude. The Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee passed resolutions demanding that the Congress would not support or co-operate with Britain in the persecution of the war unless Britain made India a free and independent nation with freedom

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"But the British Government declared that they reserved for themselves entire and complete right to frame the constitution for India, after consulting the various interests in the country. While both claimed the right to be the sole arbiter and judge in the matter the position of the Muslim League was that they did not recognise the rights of either to foist on the Muslims a constitution which did not meet with the agreement and approval of the Muslim League. And we shall fight to the last ditch to see that such a constitution is not foisted on us.

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Mr. Jinnah next proceeded to examine the democratic nature of the Congress Organisation. "Is it democracy if a Grand Fascit Council sitting in Wardha issues orders to Ministers in the provinces who are responsible to the legislatures". And the sole and final dictator of this Grand Fascit Council is not even a four-anna member of this democratic organisation. I ask those who preach truth to face problems, problems for which there is no parallel in the world. Then will come the charter of freedom."(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, November 11, 1939.*

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## 312

### Statement on the Congress proposal of arbitration, Bombay, November 9, 1939

"What can one think of the responsible leaders of the Congress including Mr. Gandhi? Mr. Gandhi in his article in the *Harijan*, dated October 21, starts by stating that in my reply to the Congress President Dr. Rajendra Prasad's letter which offered to refer the Congress-League question to an arbitration tribunal, I said that I had already placed the whole case before his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General. Mr. Gandhi said, "It is unfortunate that he has rejected Rajendra Babu's proposal.' Is it a rejection of the hand of friendship?

I ask any intelligent man to judge for himself whether it was an offer to refer the Congress-League question to arbitration. In some other quarters it is said that the hand of friendship which was offered in that letter had been rejected. Let us examine the whole position.

Dr Rejendra Prasad in his letter said that he would get the Congress Working Committee to pass a resolution to appoint

Sir Maurice Gwyer or some other person to investigate only such specific charges which we formulate against the Ministries of the Congress-governed provinces.

The first question arises as to what is the authority of the Working Committee, legal or constitutional. Allegations are against the Ministries of certain provinces which are responsible to their legislatures and to the electorates of their respective provinces. It is true that the Congress Working Committee is a 'Fascist Grand Council' and the Congress Ministries have been reduced to a position of being merely their creatures. But we cannot acquiesce in the position. The party accused are not only the Ministries but also the Congress Working Committee, whose *ukase* is carried out by the Ministries.

Now let us see how the President of the Congress begins his offer. He starts by saying that our allegations and charges are without any foundation whatsoever. So the accused has already passed his judgment and give his decision! But after that he proceeds that he will get the Congress Working Committee to pass a resolution to appoint an impartial and independent tribunal if we specify our charges. So, they have already decided the terms of reference and the scope and authority of the tribunal.

Then, again, what power can they confer upon the tribunal to summon witnesses, to take evidence on oath and call for the production of documents that might be required? Furthermore, to whom would this independent and impartial tribunal make its report for any action to be taken in the light of its findings? I suppose, to the Congress Working Committee, the accused – who will be the judge finally as to what action, if any, is to be taken against the Ministries concerned?

It is a mentality which has gone beyond any sense of

responsibility. The whole thing would be a travesty of justice."

*AFM-KU-QA- Clip 6. p.63*

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## 313

**Speech broadcast from All India Radio, Bombay on Id Day, November 13, 1939.**

"We, of the older generation, have had our trials, but I wish to forget them to-night in the company of my friends particularly the young, and to touch, if I may, the fresher springs of inspiration in their hearts, for it is they who will henceforth have to bear the burden of our aspirations.

The discipline of the Ramzan fast and prayer will culminate to-day in an immortal meekness of heart, before God, but it shall not be the meekness of a weak heart, and they who would think so are doing wrong both to God and to the Prophet, for it is the outstanding paradox of all religions that the humble shall be the strong and it is of particular significance in the case of Islam, for Islam, as you all know, really means action.

**Prayer And Life.**

This discipline of Ramzan was designed by our Prophet to give us the necessary strength for action. And action implies society of man. When our Prophet preached action be did not have in mind only the solitary life of a single human being, the deed he accomplishes only within himself, the prayer and all it involves spiritually.

According to the Holy Quran a very real connection exists between prayer and life. You will remember how many and wonderful are the opportunities given to us to meet our fellow beings, to study them, to understand them, and through

understanding serve them and you will notice that all these opportunities have been created by laying down the law for prayers.

Five times during the day we have to collect in the mosque of our mohalla, then every week on Friday we have to gather in the Juma mosque; then again twice a year we have to congregate in the biggest mosque or *maidan* outside the town on the Id day, and lastly there is the Hajj to which Muslims from all parts of the world journey, once at least in their life-time, to commune with God in the House of God. You will have noticed that this plan of our prayers must necessarily bring us into contact not only with other Muslims but also with the members of all communities whom we must encounter on our way. I don't think that these injunctions about our prayers could have been merely a happy accident. I am convinced that they were designed thus to afford men opportunities of fulfilling their social instincts.

**A Positive Duty**

Man has indeed been called God's caliph in the Quran and if that description of man is to be of any significance it imposes upon us a duty to follow the Quran, to behave towards others as God behaves towards His mankind. In the widest sense of the word, this duty is the duty to love and to forbear. And this, believe me, is not a negative duty but a positive one.

If we have any faith in love and toleration towards God's children, to whatever community they may belong, we must act upon that faith in the daily round of our simple duties and unobstrusive pieties. On this day of Id, there will be no more worthy manifestation of the spirit that is kindled in us through fast and prayer than to resolve to bring about a complete harmony within our household, within our community and within our country with all its variety of religions and creeds and to work whether in private life or public, for no selfish ends but

for the greater good of all our countrymen and finally of all human beings.

It is a great ideal and it will demand effort and sacrifice. Not seldom will your minds be assailed by doubts. There will be conflicts not only material which you perhaps will be able to resolve with courage, but spiritual also. We shall have to face them, and if today, when our hearts are humble, we do not imbibe that higher courage to do so, we never shall. All our leaders both Muslim and Hindu continue to be pained at communal strifes. I shall not enter into the history of their causes but there will arise moments when the minds of men will be worked up and when differences will assume the character of a conflict. It is at such moments that I shall ask you to remember your Id prayer and to reflect for a while if we could not avoid them in the light of the guidance given to us by our Quran and that mighty spirit which is Islam, I would ask you to remember in these moments that no injunction is considered by our Holy Prophet more imperative or more divinely binding than the devout but supreme realisation of our duty of love and toleration towards all other human beings.

All social regeneration and political freedom must finally depend on something that has a deeper meaning in life. And that, if you will allow me to say so, is Islam and Islamic spirit. It is not great speeches and big conferences only that make politics. Several young men have been coming to me to know how they could serve their country.

Well, young friends, if I touch upon politics to-night it is only to tell you, as a word of advice that we have our rights and our claims in a future India. But we shall not be obstinate about them, for obstinacy will be the negation of that spirit of love and toleration which should fall upon us this Id day and whose blessings the Prophet commands us to communicate to others. But each one of us can serve our country by disciplining himself and discipline is the essence of this holy period.

Is one regular in one's habits? Does one sleep at the proper time? Does one keep to the left of the road or abstain from throwing litter on the road? Is one honest and sincere in one's work? Does one render such help as one can to others? Is one tolerant? They may seem small matters but in them is the nucleus of a self-discipline which will be of immense value in the combined efforts of all communities and all creeds towards a greater India. This will be a service to our country which may not bring you into the limelight of politics but it will assure you a lasting peace in your hearts in the knowledge that you have contributed your share to making the politician's task easier.

**Compromise**

I am coming to the end of my brief talk. As I do so, I remember John Morley's book *"On Compromise"*. I usually dislike recommending books to young people, but I think you all ought to read that book not only once but over and over again. There is a good chapter in it one the limits of compromise, and the lesson it teaches regarding the pursuit of truth and the limitation on our actions in practice are worth pondering over.

In the pursuit of truth and the cultivation of beliefs we should be guided by our rational interpretation of the Quran and if our devotion to truth is single-minded, we shall, in our own measure, achieve our goal. In the translation of this truth into practice, however, we shall be content with so much, and so much only, as we can achieve without encroaching on the rights of others, while at the same time not ceasing our efforts always to achieve more.

Finally, I would urge you never to forget that "Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty by his people." (A.P.)

*The Bombay Sentinel, November 14, 1939 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, November 15, 1939.*

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## 314

### Speech after unfurling the Muslim League flag on Id day, Bombay, November 13, 1939

Unfurling the League flag, Mr. Jinnah appealed to Muslims to strengthen the League by joining in large numbers. The League, he continued, was the only political organisation of the Muslims. He appealed to them to keep the League flag flying and render all sacrifices needed in the task. The Muslims were down-trodden at the time when the League started to organise them, and within two years it gave them the position they now enjoyed.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah assured that Muslims were not out to harm anybody nor had they any enmity towards any one. What they wanted was the protection of their rights.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah urged upon Muslims to take a vow on that day to achieve and maintain unity in their ranks, for then only they would gain everything they wanted.

*The Evening News of India, November 14, 1939.*

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## 315

### Speech at a gathering of prominent and influential Muslims at Islam Club, Bombay, December 3, 1939

Mr. M. A. Jinnah explained to them the present political situation and the dire necessity for having a separate press in Bombay in the interests of Muslims in order to consolidate the Muslim League and to protect the Muslim rights and interests. Sir Ali Muhammad Khan Dehlavi and others also spoke on the subject.

An appeal was made for donations for Bombay Muslim League Press and Propaganda fund and a sum of Rs.44,924 was

subscribed on the spot.

*The Bombay Sentinel, December 6, 1939.*

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## 316

### Message to the Voters of Berhampur Sadar (Bengal), Bombay, December 3, 1939.

"I have no hesitation in appealing to the Muslims in general and the voters of your constituency to wholeheartedly support your candidature and vote solidly for you as the Muslim League candidate. Your success will prove once more the solidarity and the unity of the Muslims and will add to the great prestige and reputation that the All India Muslim League has already acquired. I trust, therefore, that the Bengal Muslims and in particular the Berhampore Sadar Muslim Constituency will give you every support. Wishing you all success."

*The Star of India, December 19, 1939.*

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## 317

### Appeal for the observance of Deliverance Day, Bombay, December 6, 1939.

I wish the Mussalmans all over India to observe Friday the 22nd December as the "Day of Deliverance" and thanks giving as a mark of relief that the Congress regime has at last ceased to function. I hope that the provincial, district and primary Muslim Leagues all over India will hold public meetings and pass the resolution with such modification as they may be advised, and after Juma prayers offer prayers by way of thanksgiving for being delivered from the unjust Congress

regime. I trust that public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner and with all due sense of humility, and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any other community, because it is the High Command of the Congress that is primarily responsible for the wrongs that have been done to the Mussalmans and other minorities.

RESOLUTION: "This public meeting of the Mussalmans of (name of the place) records its opinion that the Congress Ministry has conclusively demonstrated and proved the falsehood of the Congress claim that it represents all interests justly and fairly, by its decidedly anti-Muslim policy. It is the considered opinion of this meeting that the Congress Ministry has failed to safeguard the rights and interest of the Mussalmans and other minorities.

"That the Congress Ministry both in the discharge of their duties of the administration and in the legislatures have done their best to flout the Muslim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture, and have interfered with their religious and social life, and trampled upon their economic and political rights; that in matters of differences and disputes the Congress Ministry invariably have sided with, supported and advanced the cause of the Hindus in total disregard and to the prejudice of the Muslim interests.

"The Congress Governments constantly interfered with the legitimate and routine duties of district officers even in petty matters to the serious detriment of the Mussalmans, and thereby created an atmosphere which spread the belief amongst the Hindu public that there was established a Hindu raj, and emboldened the Hindus, mostly Congressmen, to ill-treat Muslims at various places and interfere with their elementary rights of freedom, therefore, it expresses its deep sense of relief at the termination of the Congress regime in various provinces and rejoices in observing this day as the "Day of Deliverance"

from tyranny, oppression and injustice during the last two and a half years, and prays to God to grant such strength, discipline and organisation to Muslim India as to successfully prevent the advent of such a ministry again and to establish a truly popular ministry which would do even justice to all communities and interests.

"This meeting urges upon His Excellency the Governor of (name of the province) and his Council of Advisers to enquire into the legitimate grievances of the Mussalmans and the wrongs done to them by the outgoing Congress Ministry, and redress the same at the earliest moment in accordance with the announcements that have been made by the Governors in taking over the Governments of various provinces under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935 and thus assure people that the new regime stands for even justice to all communities and interests concerned."

*QAP-File-134/p.148 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 8, 1939*

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## 318

### Rejoinder reply to Mr. Gandhi's statement on the Constituent Assembly, published in the "News-Chronicle," December 8, 1939*

I would have preferred to remain silent, but I am compelled to counteract the vigorous one-sided propaganda of the Congress, both in India and abroad, and, in fact, it is only to defend the Muslim League that I speak at all.

It was not very long ago that Mr. Gandhi gave an

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* Mr. Gandhi sent his statement (by cable) to the *News Chronicle* on December 4, 1939.

interview to an American journalist, when he said, in reply to a question, as to what his view was towards the parties in a democratic India, that "there was only one party which could deliver the goods, and that was the Congress." Told that there was the Muslim League, Mr. Gandhi said: "I would not accept any other party except the Congress." Then it was pointed out to him that if there was to be only one party in India the government would be fascit and not democratic. Mr. Gandhi replied: "Damn it by whatever name you may, there can be only one party in India, and that is the Congress."

Suddenly Mr. Gandhi, who was always sceptical about a constituent assembly, has now become an enthusiastic convert and its champion. He has been misrepresenting and insinuating motives to the Muslim League recently – for instance, that the League is "an obstacle to the progress of the country and is out to sell itself to the highest bidder," in his periodical articles published in the *Harijan*. He generally indulges in a campaign of polemics and metaphysics, *ahimsa* and truth.

But his interview to the *News-Chronicle* is for the consumption of the British public. A more disingenuous statement it would be difficult to find, coming from Mr. Gandhi, and it is a pity it comes from one who is a votary of truth! His sudden affection for the Constituent Assembly is on a par with what he has only striven for two decades.

The opinion, that counts is Indian opinion, not even the Congress opinion. India's opinion can be ascertained by the free vote of her people. The only true and democratic method is to ascertain their will through adult suffrage, or any agreed equivalent.

The first question will be when he says, "any agreed equivalent to adult suffrage" – between whom is their agreement to be arrived at? Secondly, if Britain is not to depend on Muslim, Hindu or any other opinion, not even Congress opinion, then

what is India's opinion?

Now that the Congress stands exposed, that it does not represent India and that it is really a Hindu body, Mr. Gandhi, is pleased suddenly to stand for a constituent assembly, which, in the present conditions of India, will mean a second and larger edition of the Congress.

Having brushed aside the Indian Princes, ignoring their existence altogether, he (Mr. Gandhi) proceeds to lay down a most extraordinary proposition. "I fail to see," he says, "why Britain's intention about India should be dependent upon Muslim, Hindu or any other opinion."

Mr. Gandhi then proceeds to say, "So far as the Congress is concerned, the people of the Indian States should be represented precisely on the same footing as those of British India." Who will arrange that? And how are electorates to be established there? And what is to happen to the Treaty rights and relationships between the British Government and the Indian Princes?

Then he proceeds: "Muslims and other accepted minorities may be represented by separate electorates, if necessary." This is a concession, but there is no grace in it when he further proceeds to state that it should be done in exact proportion to their numbers. He knows perfectly well that they will be in a hopeless minority in the constituent assembly of Mr. Gandhi's conception, where he hopes to get a brute majority against the Muslims, including other minorities.

He makes a further concession that "they will determine what is required for their protection." Is the Constituent Assembly to be bound by the minority vote as to what is required for their protection and for each minority? And then comes the ominous clause, which is fundamentally wrong, and once more shows blind arrogance, when he says that in all matters of common interest the composite majority decision

should prevail. Therefore, the Muslims and other minorities will have to submit to the verdict of that Assembly as to the nature, character and the form of the future constitution of India, which will presumably be dictated by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, as, for instance, Muslims and other minorities may prefer a bicameral legislature, whereas the Congress controlled majority of the Assembly may decide against it which according to Mr. Gandhi, will be final.

But evidently his new-born faith in the Constituent Assembly is getting shaken a bit already, because he says if a better way than the Constituent Assembly could be found "for knowing the will of the people, so for as I know, the Congress will accept it without hesitation." Mr. Gandhi is neither concerned with the size of the country nor the literacy of the masses. A truly representative assembly presupposes that in order faithfully to express judgment of the people it can only be constituted if you have a fully developed public opinion, an electorate educated and experienced, free from superstition and capable of judging the vital political issues affecting the country, and not as India stands to-day, composed of castes, creeds, superstitions and provincial jealousies quite apart from the main division of British Indian States.

The assembly proposed by Mr. Gandhi would at best, therefore, be a packed body manoeuvred and managed by the Congress caucus. It is surprising when Mr. Gandhi complacently says that an election campaign will itself be sufficient education for the purpose of broadly knowing the popular will. But have we not had sufficient evidence, under the present Constitution, though in smaller and more informed electorates? And what about the experience of the Congress (with its four-annan franchise) of abuses of power and malpractices which were eloquently condemned by Mr. Gandhi himself? It will not be the "popular will," as Mr. Gandhi professes, but it will be the will of one community, which is an overwhelming majority.

But he is anxious,"as a friend of Britain,bound by many personal ties, that she should come out victorious not because of superiority in the use of arms but because of her will to be just all along the line," hence his anxiety to advise Britain to follow him to success in the war!

Mr. Gandhi's notion of justice is to follow what he advises, than alone it can be just. I am constrained to say I wish Mr. Gandhi will stop airing views which change from day to-day and week to week, and which consistently perpetuate inconsistencies and apply his mind to the only and one question, namely, setting the Hindu-Muslim question as he, of all the Congress leaders, is best fitted to represent the Hindus as such and he can deliver the goods on behalf of the Hindus and bring about complete adjustment between the two major communities and the rest will follow. I need hardly reiterate that I am willing to help to the utmost of my power on behalf of the Muslims towards an honourable solution.

Apart from this academic discussion about a Constituent Assembly, it shows colossal ignorance, both historic and constitutional, to expect a foreign power that is dominating this country to sign its death warrant. The Constituent Assembly can only be real when it has got the sovereign authority of the people behind it, forged by the people, and who are in a position to convene such supreme national body, whose decisions and verdicts could be respected and honoured and whose fiats and writs could be enforced. It is puerile to ask the British Government, in the first instance, to call a constituent assembly of another nation and afterwards have the honour and privilege of placing the Constitution framed by this supreme assembly of India on the Statute Book of the British Parliament.

*New Era, December 14, 1939.*

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## 319

### Statement clarifying his appeal to celebrate "a day of deliverance and thanksgiving", Bombay, December 9, 1939.

It being pointed out to Mr. Jinnah at Bombay that his appeal to Muslims to celebrate "a day of deliverance and thanksgiving" was ill-timed in view of the imminent Congress-League talks, Mr. Jinnah has thus explained the circumstances which led to the release of his statement at this particular time"

"The Muslim League is fully justified in breathing a sigh of relief on the departure of Ministries inimical to Muslim interests and in praying for popular Ministries fully representing the popular rather than a party will. This is all I asked the Muslims to do.

"I had decided to issue this appeal weeks ago as soon as the first Ministry resigned and had written to the League Secretary in Delhi to this effect. The matter was, however, delayed due to the Assam Ministry not resigning at the same time as the others, and it was then decided to wait till the new Ministry was fully established and as soon as this occurred, the League Secretary issued the appeal from Delhi. It is thus clear that the issue of the appeal on the eve of these talks was sheer coincidence.

As regards the imminent Jinnah-Jawahar Lal talks, the only thing Mr. Jinnah would like to say was what he had stated in his answer to Mr. Gandhi's message to the "*News-Chronicle*" and that was that while he was entirely opposed to the Constituent Assembly proposal he appealed to Mr. Gandhi to apply his mind to the far more real problem of Hindu-Muslim unity and assured Mr. Gandhi that he was anxious to do what lay in his power to bring about a settlement honourale to both the Congress and the League.

It was in this spirit alone that he waited the forthcoming talks with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 12, 1939.*
*& The Bombay Sentinel, December 11, 1939.*

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## 320

### Statement explaining the "Deliverance Day", Bombay, December 13, 1939.

A great deal of unnecessary controversy has arisen over my appeal to Muslims to celebrate December 22 as a day of 'deliverance from oppression and, since the guilty do not admit their guilt and public memory is short, I consider it advisable to briefly trace the events that led to the reasons that prompted this appeal.

To commence with, the suggested resolutions says nothing more or less than has been said on many previous occasions. The very first complaint against Congress rule was made by me very shortly after they took office and, in my speech at the Lucknow session of the Muslim League, 1937, I complained against the compulsory singing of Bande Mataram, the question of the Congress flag and the supplanting of Urdu by Hindi and even then I called upon the Governors to exercise their special powers.

From then onwards the Congress caucus, like the proverbial steam-roller, gathered speed and complaints of oppression began to pour into the central office. These became so numerous that the Council decided to appoint, in March 1938, the Pirpur Committee which, after an elaborate and painstaking investigation over all the Congress provinces, submitted its report at the Patna session in December 1938.

The following resolution was there passed at a full session.

"That having regard to atrocities that have been committed and that elementary rights of the Muslims have been trampled upon in a systematic manner in Bihar, U.P. and C.P. and that the Governors of these provinces have failed to redress their grievances or protect even the elementary rights of the Mussalmans in these provinces in spite of all constitutional methods adopted so far by the Muslims, this session of the All-India Muslim League is, therefore, of opinion that the time has now come to authorise the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to decide and resort to 'Direct Action' if and when necessary."

During this time, in order to prevent direct action being resorted to, I was repeatedly urging upon Governors and the Governor-General, in person and by correspondence, to exercise their special powers and to take executive action to safeguard the rights and interests of the minorities placed by the Constitution under their protection, and it was only on the 17th April, 1939, that the Viceroy intimated that he would take up the matter.

As regards the Congress Ministries, our complaints were dismissed as false, frivolous and vexatious, and even Mr. Gandhi, before whom I placed our charges as far back as May 1938, side-tracked the question by writing: "I believe Congress Committees have been advised to avoid as far as possible all occasions of friction over *Bande Mataram* and the flag... The first two demands have come upon an unexpecting public. Nevertheless they undoubtedly have to be examined on their merits, but it does not appear to me to be fair to anticipate the result of the joint committees which I hope will come into being without any hitch..."

With no redress, Muslims in certain provinces grew

restive and, in the C.P., ignoring the Working Committee altogether, resorted to direct action over the Vidya Mandir scheme.

I may state here that at no stage did the Working Committee favour or encourage direct action and on request being received from Bihar, in July 1939, for permission to launch direct action, the Working Committee instructed the Bihar Muslim League to place the whole case before the Governor-General, the Governor and the Prime Minister and to report later the result of their representation. Similar advice was given to the other Muslim Leagues who contemplated similar measures.

Complaints, however, continued to pour in and on the 27th August, 1939, the Council of the League at Delhi passed the following resolution:-

(a) Resolved that this Council, while deploring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution and in particular the Federal Scheme, as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon our religious, political, social and economic rights, and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors in the Congress-governed Provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities..."

In September, war was declared and on the 17th of that month, the Working Committee reaffirmed the above resolution as one of the fundamental conditions of Muslim support and the Viceroy, realising the gravity of the situation, pressed Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders to come to an agreement with the Muslim League in the provincial sphere on a coalition basis for at least the duration of the war.

Consequently Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote on the 5th October that the Congress was prepared to request Sir Maurice Gwyer or some other suitable person to investigate only any specific charges which the Muslim League might formulate against the Mi 'stries of the Congress-governed Provinces.

I considered this proposal unsound and unpractical for the following reasons: First, legally and constitutionally, the Congress Working Committee has no place or power in the Constitution. Secondly, the complaints of the Muslims and other minorities were directed against the governments of certain provinces who were responsible to the legislatures and the electorates and not to the Working Committee. Thirdly, the proposed resolution of the Working Committee could not confer upon the contemplated tribunal the necessary power to summon witnesses and administer oaths. Nor could the tribunal compel the production of documents that might be required and, finally, I wished to know to whom the tribunal was to report and who would be the final authority to take action, if any, against the ministries.

If this final authority was the Working Committee, I pointed out that, in my opinion, it was the Working Committee itself that was primarily responsible for the injustices and the wrongs committed and I also could not believe that any adequate action would be taken against the ministries in view of the fact that the Working Committee had already decided that the Muslim League's charges were false and unfounded.

I also informed Babu Rajendra Prasad that I had already placed the whole matter before the Governor-General and had requested him to take executive action without delay to safeguard and to secure justice for the minorities.

I must explain, at this stage, that I have never asked either the Governor-General or the Governors to act as judicial tribunal as is suggested in Mr. Gandhi's appeal to me. What I

asked them to do was to take executive action to redress our grievances and, by intervention, to secure justice and fair play.

Mr. Gandhi's appeal to me to await the Viceroy's opinion, is therefore, based on a wrong assumption and even intervention is not possible now that the Congress ministries have resigned. For what then should I wait?

However, just after my letter to Babu Rajendra Prased, the Congress ministries resigned to the very natural relief of Muslims and other minorities, and I immediately decided to appeal for the observance of a day to express our relief and to show its intensity in a manner that would force ears that had hitherto been deaf to listen to us. I might point out that if our appeals had been heard at the proper time, no action on our part would now be necessary.

This appeal has been variously described as ill-timed, provocative and anti-national and that the Muslims are asked to gloat over the departure of an elected government and to welcome an official administration.

I gladly deal with these points. As regards the time, my appeal could not appear before it did for reasons already made public, and its connection or effect on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit is dealt with by me at the end of my statement.

As regards provocation, let me point out the words of my appeal: "I trust that all public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner, with due sense of humility and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any community..." However, to make quite clear my insistence that the day is observed in such spirit, I again state that I look to all district and primary Leagues to ensure that the meetings are held in that spirit. Let there be no hartals, processions or any such demonstrations, but let a spirit of humility and a mood of reflection prevail. There is relief and gratitude in our hearts; not joy or triumph.

Thirdly, it is extremely unfair and unjust to conted that the Muslims welcome the present administration. It is true that we urge upon them to inquire into our grievances and to redress them, but this is only because it is in their power to do so. On the other hand, my appeal emphasizes that prayers should be offered for the establishment of truly popular ministries which would do even justice to all communities and interests.

But there is one statement on my appeal that I cannot let pass coming as it does from such an authoritative source as the chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Committee. I am told that all our charges are totally false and unwarranted, and that was to be expected, but I must take notice of his declaration:-

"Furthermore, every Premier at my instance had invited his Governor unhesitatingly to intervene in matters affecting the rights and the interests of the minorities whenever the Governor felt that the action of the ministry was not correct. When Mr. Jinnah recently made the charges, I again instructed every Premier to invite the Governor's attention to them as they also affected him and I was informed that the Governor considered the charges unwarranted."

**Appointment of a Royal Commission**

The above statement raises a very grave issue, for it makes the Governors accessories after the act. Let me inform Mr. Vallabhai Patel that we have overwhelming evidence in support of our case and, far from shirking an inquiry, as is suggested, I insist that a thorough inquiry should now be made by a properly constituted tribunal invested with all necessary powers, and I now ask that a Royal Commission be appointed by the British Government, of a purely judicial personnel and composed of judges of his Majesty's High Courts and under the chairmanship of one of the Law Lords of the Privy Council.

I cannot conceive any objections to this demand from the Congress or any other quarter and call upon them to support my request.

Before concluding, I must deal with Mr. Gandhi's appeal and Pandit Jawaharlal's visit. I would have been inclined to respond to Mr. Gandhi's appeal had he and other Congress leaders practised what they preached about the necessity for a cordial atmosphere in which a communal agreement might be arrived at. May I remind them that a regular crusade, beginning with Mr. Gandhi himself, is being carried on against the League since the Delhi conversations took place.

Mr. Gandhi himself, since my conversation with him in Delhi in October, has, in the *Harijan*, described the Muslim League as an agent of imperialism; as an obstacle and an obstruction in the way of India's freedom and progress, and has stated that the Muslim League is insatiable in its demands since it can always look to the British Government to fulfil them. He even threatens the Muslims that though they may be holding up the country at present they cannot do so for long.

Further, the Congress press and organization are carrying on propaganda all over India and abroad, discrediting the League and attempting to divide the ranks of the Muslims. Let me give one out of many examples in my possession.

Mr. Gandhi is, perhaps, not aware that a secret letter from the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, the present Congress President's own province, issued from the Sadaqat Ashram, P.O. Dighaghat, Patna, and addressed to the President of the District Congress Committee, Gaya, which was published in *the Star of India* on the 4th December and which remains uncontradicted, says:

"You are, I hope, convinced by this time that the one outstanding question before us, awaiting solution and thus

preparing the pattern for our forward move towards our goal of self-government, is the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity. To achieve this end, it is essential that Congress-minded and truly nationalist Mussalmans of Hindustan have got to become vocal so that stopper to all progress applied by the League should disappear."

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that daily propaganda on these lines has the exact result that Mr. Gandhi fears will ensue from my single appeal.

Now to deal with the chief objection raised against my appeal that it will prejudice the communal talks taking place between Pandit Nehru and myself. Let me inform the public that rather than approaching settlement, as has been so readily and widely assumed, such discussions have yet to commence. The discussions between him and other Congress leaders and myself were of a purely political nature and related to the political demands made by the Congress at that time. This has been stated by Congress leaders themselves. I informed them at Delhi that I could not associate the Muslim League with any joint demand to the British Government till a Congress-League agreement had first been arrived at. I also informed them that no such agreement was possible till the Muslim League was recognised as the authoritative and the representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India, and, as this position was not acceptable to them, the talks ended on this point, and on Pandit Nehru expressing a desire to see me again, I gladly agreed and I look forward to his visit". (A.P.)

*The Indian Express, December 14, 1939 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 15, 1939.*

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## 321

### Speech at the flag-hoisting ceremony on Deliverance Day, Bombay, December 17, 1939

"Muslims are as anxious as anyone else inn the country that India should be a free nation" declared Mr. Jinnah, while unfurling the Muslim League Flag before a large audience. Mr. Jinnah appealed to Muslims of India to stand united under the League banner. The Muslims had no enmity with anybody but only they claimed the right to live in the country with honour. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, December 18, 1939*

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## 322

### Statement clarifying that the Deliverance Day functions are not Anti-Hindu, Bombay, December 17, 1939

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press:

"In order to raise still further objections to the functions on December 22, it is now being said that my move is anti-Hindu and will arouse communal passions. I greatly regret that in order to discredit the Muslim League the Congress should resort to such mischievous and dangerous propaganda, Let me once more point out that our relief is from the oppression of the Congress regime only and is not in any way directed against our Hindu fellow-countrymen as a community.

"In fact our chief objection to the attitude of the Congress is that it totally prevents the Hindu and the Muslims communities from working together in a manner honourale to

both. The Muslim League stands for justice and fairplay to all whether Muslim or any other community and I am glad to have received encouragement and support not only from all minorities but from non-Congress Hindus also. Let me, therefore, take this opportunity to appeal to all Indians who believe that the conditions in India necessitate popular, rather than party, Governments which do justice to all sections of the people rather than to an irremovable majority, to come forward now and to make known their views.

"The functions on December 22 are not Muslim functions directed against their Hindu fellowmen as a community but a condemnation, pure and simple, of the regime of the Congress caucus. I, therefore, most cordially invite all who support this attitude to join and participate in our meetings."

*The Star of India, December 18, 1939*

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## 323

### Speech at a "Deliverance Day" Meeting, Bombay, December 22/23, 1939

*Mr. Jinnah was accorded a great ovation when he arrived at one of the biggest mass rallies of Muslims seen in Bombay at Mohammed Ali Road which began at about 10 o'clock last night and was still in progress at 12-30 this morning as a climax of the city's observance of the "Deliverance Day."*

Before the meeting dispersed at about 1 o'clock this morning, Mr. Jinnah in a brief speech declared that the meeting was not convened against the Hindu community. For the first time in the history of the League, the minorities had gathered on

the same platform. He urged all minorities to stand united. Their grievance was against the Congress High Command and not against the Hindu community. "The policy of this Fascist Grand Council." he said, "is based on falsehood and hypocrisy. We must expose them."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 24, 1939.*

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## 324

### Interview to the press on his birthday December 25, 1939

"My hobby? I am very fond of carpets. I love Persian carpets and I cannot simply resist it if I see a good carpet and however hard up I may be, I buy it" said Mr. Jinnah to Pressmen who called on him today.

While declining to comment on the present political developments in the country, Mr. Jinnah said: "The greatest day in my life was when I heard that the Federal Scheme was suspended, and a still greater moment will be when it is definitely buried."

**"Deliverance Day"**

He expressed satisfaction at the success which attended the "Deliverance Day" celebrations. "From the Press reports as well as private letter and telegrams" he added, "that I have received I am happy to find that the 'Deliverance Day' was observed throughout India with complete success in an orderly and disciplined manner and observing it truly in the spirit which was expected of the great community. It has in one bound established the solidarity, unity and dignity of Muslim India. Its remarkable significance cannot be overlooked, especially the fact

of the other minorities and their leaders and even non-Congress Hindus having joined and supported us clearly demonstrates the attitude of justice and fair play to all for which the Muslim League stands. I sincerely hope that the lesson of this great demonstration will not be lost on all those who are responsible for moulding the future destiny of India." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, December 26, 1939*

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# 1940

# 325

## Statement while releasing his correspondence with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Bombay, January 7, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has released the correspondence between himself and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. In a statement in this connection be says:

"I regret to find that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, during his recent tour in the Punjab and elsewhere, has thought it fit to attack me in a manner unworthy of any responsible leader. He accuses me of being bent upon the preservation of British domination over India which I can only characterise as not only unwarranted but mean. The reasons for his refusing to continue his talks with me, as given by him, are far from correct, are misleading and unfair.

"I would not further comment upon his reckless and irresponsible pronouncements, but I shall rest content with releasing the correspondence between us on the subject. This will show the true reasons for his refusing to proceed further in the matter and I leave it to the public to judge the impossible attitude that is being taken up by him and the Congress."

*Letter from Pandit Nehru to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, dated December 1, 1939 from Allahabad.*

My dear Mr. Jinnah.

When we met last in Delhi it was agreed that we should meet again to discuss various aspects of the communal problems. You told me that on your return to Bombay you would write to me suggesting some date for such a meeting. I have been looking forward to your letter since then. I hope that

whenever it is convenient for you to fix a date you will kindly let me know.

Sir Stafford Cripps is coming to India soon and is likely to spend two or three weeks in this country. He is on his way to China. I do not yet exactly know when he will reach here, but probably he will come in about a week's time. During his brief stay in India he would like to meet you if that is possible. I do not know his programme at all, nor do I know what cities he intends visiting. But I take it that he will go to Bombay. Could you kindly let me know if you are likely to be in Bombay about the third week of this month or a little later? This information might help him to arrange his programme. He is coming by air and will land in Allahabad.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Jawahar Lal Nehru

**Sir S. Cripps**

*Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, dated December 4, 1939, from Bombay:*

My Dear Jawahar,

I am in receipt of your letter of December I and I thank you for it. As at present advised, I hope to be in Bombay for the next two or three weeks and if it is convenient to you I shall be very glad to see you and fix up any date that may suit you. Please therefore, let me know what date and time will suit you.

As regards Sir Stafford Cripps. I received a letter from him and I have already replied to him care of your address as directed by him and as I have already stated I shall be here in Bombay and as he is arriving at Allahabad on December 8, as I understand from his letter, I shall be very glad to see him when he is in Bombay. On hearing from him I shall fix up also the date

and time that may suit him.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah.

*Letter from Pandit Nehru to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, dated December 9, 1939*:

My Dear Jinnah,

Two days ago I sent you a letter informing you that I intended going to Bombay soon and hoped to meet you there. Yesterday morning I read in the newspapers your statement fixing December 22 as a day of deliverance and thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress Governments have at last ceased to function.

I have read this statement very carefully more than once and have given 24 hours' thought to the matter. It is not for me in this letter to enter into any controversy about facts or Impressions or conclusions. You know my views about these, formed, I hope, in all earnestness and with all desire to find the truth. It may be that I am mistaken, but I have sought more light and that light has not come.

But, what has oppressed me terribly since yesterday is the realisation that our sense of values and objectives in life and politics differ so very greatly. I had hoped after our conversations that this was not so great. But now the gulf appears to be wider than ever. Under these circumstances I wonder what purpose will be served by our discussing with each other the problems that confront us. There must be some common ground for discussion to yield fruit. I think I owe it to you as well as to myself to put this difficulty before you.

You were good enough to show me in Delhi a letter you had received from Bijnor. I inquired into this matter and I am

informed that the version of facts given to you is not correct and is wholly misleading. If you would care to have an explanation of what happened I could obtain it for you from Bijnor. For this purpose I would like to have a copy of the letter you showed me in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Jawahar Lal Nehru.

**Common Ground**

*Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to Pandit Nehru, dated December 13, 1939, from Bombay:*

Dear Jawahar Lal,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 9. I did not know where to address my reply to you as your movements were reported in the Press to be uncertain. The latest announcement is that you are arriving in Bombay on December 14 and I am, therefore, sending this letter to your Bombay address.

I quite agree with you that "there must be some common ground for discussion. Some common objective aimed at for that discussion to yield fruit." That is the very reason why I made it clear in our conversation at Delhi in October last to Mr. Gandhi and yourself first that so long as the Congress is not prepared to treat the Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India, it was not possible to carry on talks regarding the Hindu-Muslim settlement as that was the basis laid down by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and secondly, that we cannot endorse the Congress demand for the declaration as laid down in the resolution of the Working Committee confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee on October 10, 1939 apart from the nebulious and impracticable character of it, till we reach an agreement with regard to the minority problem.

The Muslim League was also not satisfied with the declaration made by the Viceroy. If happily we could settle with Hindu-Muslim question then we would be in a position to evolve an agreed formula for a demand of declaration by His Majesty's Government that would satisfy us; neither the first nor the second suggestion of mine was acceptable to Mr. Gandhi or to yourself at Delhi, but you were good enough to express your wish that you would like to meet me again and I said that I would be always glad to see you. In reply to your letter of December I expressing your wish to see me in Bombay I inform you that I shall be in Bombay till the third week of December and I shall be glad to see you and I can only say that if you desire to discuss the matter further I am at your disposal.

As regards your reference to the Bijnor incident, I am sure that you will agree with me that it requires a thorough judicial examination and inquiry before any conclusion can be arrived at, and it is hardly worth our while to deal with one instance for in my judgment the whole working of the constitution and our charges against the Congress Governments must be thoroughly examined by a Royal Commission.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah

**Deliverance Day**

*Letter from Pandit Nehru to Mr. Jinnah, dated December 14, 1939 from Bombay*:

My dear Jinnah:

Thank you for your letter of December 13, which was delivered to me in the forenoon to-day on my arrival here. I sent you my last letter from Allahabad after reading and giving full thought to your statement about the celebration of a day of deliverance and thanksgiving by the Muslims. This statement

had distressed me greatly as it made me realise that the gulf that separated us in our approach to public problems is very great. In view of this fundamental difference. I wonder what common ground there was for discussion and I put my difficulty before you. That difficulty remains.

In your letter you have emphasized two other preliminary conditions before any common ground for discussion can arise. The first is that the Congress must treat the Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India. The Congress has always considered the League as a very important and influential organisation of the Muslims and it is because of this that we have been eager to settle any differences that may exist between us.

But presumably what you suggest is something more and involves some kind of repudiation by us of, or dissociation from, other Muslims who are not in the League. There are as you know, a large number of Muslims in the Congress, who have been and are our closest colleagues. There are Muslim organisations like the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the All-India Shia Conference, the Majlis-i-Ahrar, the All-India Momin Conference, etc., apart from trade unions and peasant unions, which have many Muslims as their members. As a general rule, many of these organisations and individuals have adopted the same political platform as we have done in the Congress. We cannot possibly dissociate ourselves from them or disown them in any way.

You have rightly pointed out on many occasions that the Congress does not represent everybody in India. Of course not. It does not represent those who disagree with it, whether they are Muslims or Hindus. In the ultimate analysis it represents its members and sympathisers. So also the Muslim League. But there is this vital difference that while the Congress by its

constitution has its membership open to all who subscribe to its objective and methods, the Muslim League is only open to Muslims. Thus the Congress constitutionally has a national basis which it cannot give up without putting an end to its existence. There are many Hindus, as you know, in the Hindu Mahasabha who oppose the idea of the Congress representing the Hindus as such. Then there are the Sikhs and others who claim that they should be heard when communal matters are considered.

**League And Muslims**

I am afraid, therefore, that if your desire is that we should consider the League as the sole organisation representing the Muslims to the exclusion of all others, we are wholly unable to accede to it. It would be equally at variance with facts if we made a similar claim for the Congress, in spite of the vastness of the Congress organisation. But I would venture to say that such questions do not arise when two organizations deal with each other and consider problems of mutual interest.

Your second point is that the Muslim League cannot endorse the Congress demand for a declaration from the British Government. I regret to learn this for this means that apart from communal questions, we differ entirely on purely political grounds. The Congress demand is essentially for a declaration of war aims and more especially for a declaration of Indian independence and the right of the Indian people to frame their own constitution without external interference. If the Muslim League does not agree to this this means that our political objectives are wholly dissimilar.

The Congress demand is not new. It is inherent in article one of the Congress and all our policy for many years past has been based on it. It is inconceivable to me how the Congress can give it up or even vary it. Personally, I would be entirely

opposed to any attempt at variation. But this is not a personal matter. There is a resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, endorsed by a thousand meetings all over India, and I am powerless to ignore it.

It thus seems that politically we have no common ground and that our objectives are different. That in itself makes discussion difficult and fruitless. What led me to write my last letter to you also remains – the prospect of a celebration of a day of deliverance by the Muslims as suggested by you. That raises very vital and far-reaching issues, in which I need not go now, but which must influence all of us. That approach to the communal problem cannot be reconciled with an attempt to solve it.

I feel therefore that it will serve little purpose for us to meet at this stage and under these conditions, with this background. I should like to assure you, however, that we are always prepared to have free and frank discussions of the communal or other problems as between the Congress and the League. I note what you say about the Bijnor incident. It has been our misfortune that charges are made in a one-sided way and they are never inquired into or disposed of. You will appreciate that it is very easy to make complaints and very unsafe to rely upon them without due inquiry.

Your sincerely,
(Sd.) Jawahar Lal Nehru.

**Declaration Of War Aims**

*Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to Pandit Nehru, dated December 15, 1939, from Bombay:*

Dear Jawahar Lal,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 14, 1939, and I am sorry to say that you have not appreciated my position with

regard to the second point. I did not say that the Muslim League cannot endorse the Congress demand for a declaration from the British Government. What I have said was that we cannot endorse the Congress demand for the declaration as laid down in the resolution of October 10, 1939 of the Working Committee, and confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee for the reasons I have already specified in my letter.

If this resolution of the Congress cannot be modified in any way and as you say that personally you would be entirely opposed to any attempt at variation of it and as you make it clear that you are wholly unable to treat the Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India, may I know in these circumstances what you expect or wish me to do.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah

*Letter from Pandit Nehru to Mr. Jinnah, dated December 16, 1939*:

My dear Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of December 15 I realise the difference you have pointed out. Of course the Muslim League cannot oppose the idea of any declaration. What the Congress had asked for was an enunciation of war aims and a recognition of India's independence and the right of her people to frame their constitution, a right that must necessarily be inherent in independence. All these are being principles which flow from our objective of independence, and as the Muslim League has the same declared objective, there should be no difference of opinion about them.

In the application of these principles many important matters will no doubt have to be considered. But so far as the

basic demands are concerned, they are of the very essence of Indian nationalism. To give them up or to vary them materially is to knock down our case for independence.

In regard to the war also the Congress has repeatedly declared its policy during the last 11 years, the present declaration is a logical outcome of that policy. I have personally had some share in shaping this policy and I have attached importance to it. You will appreciate that it is exceedingly difficult, apart from the question of desirability, to vary such long established and fundamental policies.

**Only Policies**

These policies are political in their essence and, I would venture to say, are the only policies which flow from a demand for Indian freedom. Details may be considered and discussed, their application should be worked out in mutual co-operation and in particular the interest of various groups and minorities should be considered carefully and protected. But to challenge the very basis of that declaration is to demonstrate that there is a great difference in political outlook and policies. This, as such, has nothing to do with the Hindu-Muslim problem. It is because of this that I feel that there is little in common in our political objectives.

May I say again that no one on our behalf so far as I know, challenges or minimises the authority, influence and importance of the Muslim League. It is for this reason that we have been eager to discuss matters with it and to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problems that confront us. Unfortunately we never seem to reach even the proper discussion of these problems as various hurdles and obstructions, in the shape of conditions precedent, come in our way. These conditions precedent, as I have ventured to point out to you have far-reaching significance. I do not know why they

should be allowed to obstruct all progress or prevent us from considering these problems. It should not be difficult to remove these hurdles and come to grips with the subject itself.

But as these hurdles continue and others are added to them I am compelled to think that the real difficulty is the difference in political outlook and objectives.

At the present moment the decision to have an India demonstration on December 22 has added psychological barrier which effectively prevents mutual approach and discussion. I regret this exceedingly and have earnestly wished that you would see your way to remove this barrier which is leading and can only lead to ill-will. I still hope that you may be able to do so.

I do wish to assure you that for my part I do not want to leave any stone unturned which can lead to mutual understanding and settlement. But you will not have me, as I do not want to have you, leave integrity of mind and purpose in pursuit of anything. Nothing worthwhile can be gained that way. I have deep political convictions and I have laboured in accordance with them these many years. I cannot leave them at any time, much less now when the world is in the throes of a terrific crisis.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Jawahar Lal Nehru.

(A.P.)

*The Bombay Sentinel, January 8, 1940 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 9, 1940.*

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## 326

### Message of sympathy to President Inonue of Turkey, Matheran, January 2, 1940

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has sent a telegram to the President of the Turkish Republic conveying the sympathies of the Muslims of India to the Turkish people in Anatolia. The following is the text of the message.

"President Inonu, Turkish Government, Ankara, Turkey: Please accept deepest and sincerest sympathies of Muslims of India on Antolia suffering. We share the sorrow of the Turkish people, Jinnah, President, Muslim League, India." (A.P.I.)

*QAP-F-1130 p.68 and*
*The Star of India, January 2, 1940.*

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## 327

### Speech at Rajkot, January 22, 1940

*Mr. Jinnah and the other members of the Muslim League Deputation now on tour in Kathiawar addressed a meeting at Rajkot. The majority of the audience was Hindu. Mr. Osman Memon, President of the Kathiawar Muslim League, presided. Mr. Memon enumerated Muslim grievances against the Congress. He declared that the Press was now in the hands of the Congress and stressed the need for an independent Press of the League. He urged rich Muslims to contribute to the fund for this purpose. Mr. Chundrigar, a member of the deputation, also made an appeal to start a League newspaper.*

Mr. Jinnah, speaking inn Urdu, dwelt on the events of last years and congratulated the Muslims on the part they had played during the Rajkot movement. He also thanked them for the reception they had accorded the deputation. He said that reports were constantly being received that injustice was being done to Muslims in Bhavnagar. He hoped that the Maharaja of Bhavnangar would see that the grievances were redressed and justice done." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, January 25, 1940*

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## 328

### Statement on the Independence Day, Rajkot, January 22, 1940.

"I find that even Congressmen are realising that the Independence Day pledge as amended, or with the addendum, is a camouflage, is not genuine in its conception and is humiliating, and it must fail in the execution of its objective to achieve "independence pure and simple."

"The Congress High Command, from the latest writings of Mr. Gandhi, are out for a compromise with the Viceroy, under paramountcy in a manner such as would once more revive the gentlemen's agreement and the alliance with the British Government in order that Mussalmans and minorities and other interests may be placed at their mercy, once more for them to begin their process of crushing them downright.

"The Congress High Command directed the Ministries to resign as a bluff and they are trying to get back because the Viceroy has called the bluff.

"So far the trouble has been that Lord Linlithgow was perforce obliged to refuse, owing to the growing strength of the

Muslim League, to treat the Congress as the only mouthpiece of India and therefore was unable to please the High Command as he realised that such a course would involve great risk to the British Government, especially at this juncture. If the Mussalmans and the minorities and other interests are to be ignored or sacrificed, Mr. Gandhi, having once tasted the power that was given to the High Command by means of assurances that special powers would not be used by the Governors or the Governor-General, would want more if he is allowed to cross the "t"s and dot the "i"s in what he finds germs of settlement in the Viceroy's speech at Bombay.

"But I wish to strike a note of caution and I hope the Viceroy and the British Government fully realise that any repetition of such a position in which the guarantees already given to the minorities are not implemented, or are not honoured in practice, will create the gravest crisis in India; and Muslim India will resist it by all the means in their power and will not shrink from making any sacrifice. The British Government will be wholly responsible for the consequences if they yield or are stampeded by the threats and coercion by one party.

"I appeal to Mussalmans all over the country in particular and also to my non-Muslim countrymen not to have anything to do with the Independence Day on January 26, as it is intended to deceive the people under the lure and guise of independence. Mr. Gandhi's meaning of independence varies from time to time and I hope the Mussalmans will not fall into this trap. (A.P.)

*The Bombay Sentinel, January 23, 1940 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 24, 1940.*

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## 329

### Speech at Gondal, January 23, 1940

*"An enthusiastic welcome was accorded to Mr. Jinnah and party on their arrival at Gondal from Rajkot. A large procession was taken out from the station and it passed through the main bazar which had been decorated with arches and buntings. En route Muslim merchants garlanded the members of the deputation. The procession terminated at the State guest house. In the afternoon Gondal Muslims presented Mr. Jinnah with an address. Mr. Noor Muhammad Ahmed, who was in the Chair, paid a tribute to Mr. Jinnah for his services in the cause of Muslims. Donations of Rs.6,000 for the Press fund were announced.*

Mr. Jinnah replying thanked Gondal Muslims for the welcome given to the delegation. Explaining the aims of the League, Mr. Jinnah said: "We do not wish to quarrel with any community. We want to preserve and guard our inherent rights. Some Hindu leaders were, however, out to crush Muslims and I must warn them that this cannot be tolerated.

Continuing, he said that he knew His highness the Maharaja of Gondal for years and he knew that Gondal Muslims were fortunate in having such a just, fair and upright Ruler. *Mr. Jinnah had tea at the palace with the Maharaja of Gondal prior to his departure for Dhoraji."* (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 25, 1940.*

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## 330

### Reply to the Address Presented at a meeting of the Muslims of Bantva, January 24, 1940.

*(A meeting of the Muslims of Bantva was held, last night*

*to welcome the Muslim League Deputation led by Mr. Jinnah, Seth Husein Kassam Dada was in the chair. An address of welcome was read by Sheth Adamji Haji Pir Mahomed. A tribute was paid in the address to Mr. Jinnah for his services to his community).*

Mr. Jinnah explained the objects of the tour. He said that if a mighty organization like the Congress was to be faced with its great means and vast resources, the League would have also to prepare itself on the same lines as the Congress. If the Muslims wanted to exist and have a future they would have to build up resources. Mr. Jinnah said, that there were many rich Muslims in Bantva and he appealed to them to contribute generously to the Press Fund. He cited in this connection the example of Lord Nuffield.*

*(Mr. Chundrigar and Mr. Khandwani, other members of the Deputation also spoke.*

*The deputation proceeded this afternoon to Porbander).*

*The Evening News of India, January 26, 1940.*

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## 331

### Speeches at Dhoraji & Junagad, on tour for League Press Fund, Junagad, January 25, 1940.

*(Mr. Jinnah and party reached Dhoraji yesterday an hour later than the fixed time. Large crowds of Muslims awaited the arrival of the deputation. Though a procession was formed it had to be cut of abruptly in the middle as the crowd became*

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* William Richard Morris, Viscount of Nuffield, b. October 10, 1877. British industrialist and a great philanthrophist whose automobile manufacturing firm introduced "Morris" cars. d. August 22, 1963.

*unruly and made a rush on Mr. Jinnah's car. Mr. Jinnah then drove straight to his residence.*

*After dinner Mr. Jinnah deliberated in private with the leading Muslims probably about the Press fund.*

*As Mr. Jinnah was pressed to address the public which was gathering near his residence later at 10:15 p.m. he came out in the compound of his residence and attended a meeting.*

*Mr. Noor Mohd. Ahmed of Gondal, who was proposed to the Chair, appealed to the audience to make Mr. Jinnah's tour successful by giving him the required funds for the furtherance of Muslim interests.*

*Mr. Chundrigar, M.L.A. then spoke for about an hour,. He explained the present situation in British India and the plight of Muslims after the introduction of autonomy.*

*Speaking about the need for a League Press, he deplored that present-day journals should be "under the Congress control." He said that present-day battles in India were fought with the pen and propaganda and hence the need for an independent Press for the League*).

Mr. Jinnah delivered a short speech as it was already midnight. He thanked them for their cordial welcome and appealed to them to sink their differences and rally round the League banner for if they were united they could face any power.

*Mr. Jinnah reached Junagad from Dhoraji at 12 noon where the local Jamiat accorded a reception to him and the members of the deputation at which Kazi Akhtar, President of the Jamiat, welcomed them.*

Mr. Jinnah speaking on the occasion stressed the need for united action by Muslims at this critical juncture and exhorted the audience to strengthen the League by helping him

to equip it best so that Muslims may also secure their due place with honour in a free India. Mr. Jinnah was glad to announce the contributions of Rs.30,000 from Dhoraji and Rs.2,500 from Junagad, Veraval and Wanthali jointly.

*After about an hour and a half, the delegation proceeded to Mangrol by car.*(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 27, 1940.*

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## 332

### Speech at a Public Meeting, Porbunder, January 26, 1940.

*At Porbunder Mr. Jinnah addressed a largely attended meeting presided over by Haji Abubakker Zavery.*

Mr. Jinnah said that the starting of a League press was the only weapon to fight political battles in those days. "A platform and a press we must have, if we are to exist" he said, Mr. Jinnah traced the events that followed the introduction of provincial autonomy and subsequent actions of the Congress. Mr. Jinnah characterised the assurances extracted from the Governors against the use of their special powers as an indication of the Congress desire that the Governors should not intervene for the protection of Muslims and minorities.

Mr. Jinnah said that he had repeatedly extended the hand of friendship and co-operation to the Congress in the common task of achieving freedom, but the Congress had rejected the offer.

Mr. Jinnah paid a tribute to the Maharana of Porbunder for his just and fair rule which had kept the Muslim subjects

contended. (A.P).

*The Evening News of India, January 27, 1940.*

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## 333

### Statement at the conclusion of the tour of Kathiawar, Rajkot, January 27, 1940

"We have concluded our tour of Kathiawar and I must thank Mussalmans from leaders to the masses for their most enthusiastic welcomes and wonderful enthusiasm and hospitality that was extended to us throughout our extensive tour.

"Thousands, all along the route, welcomed us and I am happy to have seen real, sincere and loyal support from Muslims of Kathiawar to the A.I.M.L. Huge meetings were held of thousands and thousands. I am gland to announce that within a short time, the total amount donated for M.L.P.P. Fund is nearly one-and-a-half lakhs which included Rs.20,000 given by Sir Adamji Haji Dawood whose home is in Jetpur.

"My message to the Muslims of Kathiawar is that they must now harness and mobalise the Muslims and direct this wonderful enthusiasm and awakening that I noticed for real progress and welfare of Muslims educationally, economically, socially and lastly but not least, politically. I am returning with happines memories of the great reception and whole-hearted support given to us throughout our tour."

Replying to Pressmen about his impressions of his visit to Paneli, his ancestral home, Mr. Jinnah said: "I was certainly very happy, after nearly 50 years, to visit Paneli, *'Vatan'* of my ancestors who left Kathiawar a century ago. Even Paneli had undergone revolutionary changes and I was happy to meet one

or two old men who remember when I was there last and it was a great pleasure to talk to them. One of them happened to be a Hindu. In Paneli that Hindu might set an example for British India. His genuine and sincere feelings of cordiality, his innocent and honest talk was most refreshing."

Mr. Jinnah thanked the Pressmen who toured with him, who he said, had given them fair Press and true representation of their tour. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, January 29, 1940.*

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## 334

### Speech at a meeting of Ahmedabad Muslims, Ahmedabad, January 27/28, 1940.

Addressing a meeting of Ahmedabad Muslims at Shaukat Maidan, at which over 40,000 were present, Mr. Jinnah thanked the Muslims of Ahmedabad for the great welcome accorded to him and the League deputation. He said the Muslims had now awakened and begun to understand that they must establish their rights in India and live in the country with respect and freedom.

"We bear enmity towards none, nor do we wish to harm anyone," declared Mr. Jinnah, "but we shall never be the slaves of others. We wish for the independence of the country more than any other community. We want independence, not only for our community, but for all communities as well, and we are prepared to all sacrifices."

The Congress leaders, said Mr. Jinnah, proceedings, were intoxicated with power, and imagined that the Muslims were nothing, and that there existed in India only the British Government and the Congress. This intoxication had now begun

to decrease, but had not yet ended. He prayed to God that it might vanish entirely.

Mr. Jinnah added that the Muslims now trusted neither Government nor the Congress. They had faith in God alone and in their own selves. The times were critical, and for the Muslims it was a question of life or death. If the Muslims wished to live honourably, then they must strengthen the Muslim League, which the Congress had tried to break, only to make it more powerful. The League had shown what it could do within a very short time.

**Federation Harmful To Muslims**

Speaking about Federation, Mr. Jinnah said that if it was introduced, it would harm India. The Muslims, would be so crushed that they could not arise again even in 50 years. Therefore Federation was not acceptable to the Muslim League. Government had suspended the plan under the plea of war, but Government really understood that if it came into force it would do great harm and that the Muslims would never accept it.

"Nowhere in the world can any nation be 100 per cent, unanimous. I will be glad to know that Mr. Gandhi admits that there is a powerful organisation like the Muslim League which has lakhs and lakhs of members.

"The Muslim League is powerful but make it still more powerful, so that no one can oppose it. Let there be a Parliament of Muslims, so that it may become so powerful that what we want may be obtained.

"The Hindus, in their intoxication, think that there should be Hindu Raj in India," added Mr. Jinnah. "Our reply is: We will never allow that to happen and will make whatever sacrifice that might be needed."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said, the introduction of provincial autonomy and subsequent actions of the Congress to suppress the Muslim League. He characterised the assurances extracted from the Governors against the use of their special powers as an indication of the Congress desire that the Governors should not intervene for the protection of the Muslims and minorities.

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## 335

### Speech at a meeting held under the auspices of the All Ahmedabad Muslim Students' Union,Ahmedabad, January 28, 1940.

Under the auspices of the All-Ahmedabad Muslim Students' Union, Mr. Jinnah, addressing a large gathering at the Mangaldas Memorial Hall, exhorted Muslims to make efforts in every direction to improve their community and build up nation-building departments. He asked students to study all questions thoroughly and keep themselves informed of the affairs of the world and to form no hasty judgments.

Mr. Jinnah said the demand for a Constituent Assembly by the Congress would shelve the Hindu-Muslim question. So long as the Congress High Command did not come down to the Muslims, and so long as the Congress was not ready to take their hand of co-operation as two separate nations, there could be no settlement.

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## 336

### Reply to Sir Hugh O'Neill's statement in the House of Commons, Ahmedabad, January 28, 1940.

"We are informed that London scouts our just demand to appoint an impartial judicial tribunal, namely a Royal Commission, to enquire into our charges of a very serious character about the tyranny and oppression practised over Mussalmans in Congress-governed provinces. Sir Hugh O'Neill is reported to have said that he could not believe that the interests of either party to the dispute or of the peoples of India as a whole would be served by a formal enquiry into the matter. What does this mean? This unreasonable reply has imposed an additional task upon us. We shall try to remove his wrong belief when he says that it is not in the interests of the people to do justice. He is entirely mistaken when he says that such an enquiry would embitter Hindus and Muslims. It is a charge against the Congress High Command and the Congress Ministries, which must be investigated in order to stop a recurrence or repetition of it in future.

**Reply To London Times**

"My attention has also been drawn to an article in the London *Times*. This paper is generally well-informed, but when it says that the All-India Muslim League is not an authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India, it is misled completely, showing ignorance of the actual position in India to-day. Of course, the League is not the only Muslim organization in the country, nor does it represent cent per cent of the Muslims in the country, which it is impossible for any organisation to do in any country, but I venture to state without fear of contradiction that to-day it represents the Muslim nation more truly and effectively than His Majesty's present Government represents the British nation.

The London *Times* is making a great mistake if it is under the impression that any settlement could be forced on the Muslims under the aegis of the British Government without their approval and consent. The Muslims are not prepared to leave their fate and future destiny in the hands of anybody. They alone are the final judges of what is best for them. They must be treated by all parties who play their part in shaping the future of India as a responsible and honourable people."

**Blames Mahatma**

Referring to the latest article of Mahtama Gandhi in the "*Harijan*", Mr. Jinnah said:

"Suddenly Mr. Gandhi finds that my truthful and honest statement in reply to his letter recently published has dashed to the ground all hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity. This was the first time that I made the position clear. Why then begin to doubt now whether I represent the Muslim mind at all? I know it is not easy to convince Mr. Gandhi of the reality of the situation. He fees that the picture I presented to him, if realised, would undo the efforts the Congress has been making for over half a century. Efforts of the Congress for the first thirty years have already been undone and Mr. Gandhi is mainly responsible for that. It is the policy and programme Mr. Gandhi has been pursuing blindly for two decades that is the cause of the present state of affairs. He is still under a delusion when he says that this is only a temporary phase in the history of the Muslim League and that the Muslims could never cut themselves away from their Hindu and Christian brethren.

It is not a question of Muslims cutting away from their Hindu and Christian brethren. It is a problem of making our Hindu and Christian brethren understand that we are entitled to our proper place in the Indian sun." (A.P.I.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 30, 1940.*

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## 337

### Statement clarifying League attitude towards the constitutional problem of India, New Delhi, February 2, 1940.

With reference to the frequently asked question of the definite constitutional demands of the Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview stated that the answer to that question had been indicated before, particularly in the resolution passed by the Muslim League Working Committee immediately after the outbreak of the war.

The first and fundamental point on which the League insisted he said, was that the Government of India Act, 1935, must go lock, stock and barrel and the whole constitutional problem should be considered "*de novo*." The Muslim League, emphasised Mr. Jinnah, was even now prepared for such re-examination and had made it plain that such re-examination should take place as soon as circumstances might permit or, at the latest, immediately after the war.

The League demanded that a declaration agreeing to such re-examination should be made by the British Government and as soon as the declaration was made the League would be prepared to place before the Government their detailed scheme of constitutional adjustments provided that a suitable machinery, which would command their confidence, was set up for that purpose.

**Fundamental principles**

Certain fundamental principles on which, in the opinion of Muslims, the future Indian constitution should be based have been defined by a joint meeting held here of the members of the Foreign Committee of the All-India Muslim League and of the authors of the alternative constitutional schemes submitted to the League. Sir Abdulla Haroon presided.

All the nine schemes so far prepared were discussed and analysed in the light of the Indian conditions and in relation to the international situation and the latest position in the country following the frequent expression of different opinions.

"At this juncture," says a resolution adopted by the meeting, "the meeting feels it desirable and necessary on its part to make a respectful recommendation to the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to state its mind in unequivocal language with regard to the future of the Indian Muslim nation and prepare the latter also for launching a struggle to achieve the following fundamental rights about which the Muslim nation of India is absolutely definite and clear in its mind:

"1. The Muslims of India who constitute 90 millions of people, are a separate nation entitled to the same right of self-determination which has been conceded in respect of other nations.

"2. The Muslims of India shall in no case agree to be reduced to the position of a minority on the basis of extraneous and foreign considerations or for the sake of any political convenience or expediency.

"3. That in order to make the Muslim right of self-determination really effective, the Muslims shall have a separate national home in the shape of an autonomous state.

"4. That the Muslims living in the rest of India shall be treated as the nationals of the aforesaid Muslim state and their rights and privileges shall be fully safeguarded.

"5. That any scheme of Indian reforms interfering with these basic principles shall be stoutly resisted by the Indian Muslim nation till it has achieved the aforesaid objective."

The resolution will be placed before the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee which begins its session to-morrow.

The joint meeting has appointed a sub-committee of nine to sit from day-to-day to draft a detailed constitutional scheme incorporating the fundamental rights declared in the resolution and also any acceptable features of the different schemes already before the meeting.

The nine schemes are those prepared by the Nawab of Mamdot, Dr. Abdul Latif, Mr. Rizawan Ullah, Dr. Afzal Hussain Kadri, Khan Bahadur Kafiat Ullah, Mr. Asadullah of Calcutta and also the Pakistan scheme and the Khilafat scheme of the Muslim Students Federation. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, February 3, 1940.*

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## 338

### Statement to the press regarding publishing the distorted version of the proceedings of the League Working Committee by a local newspaper, New Delhi, February 4, 1940

"My attention has been drawn to the report of the proceedings of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League published in one of the local papers (not the Statesman). I regret to have to say that so far as it refers to the discussions of the Working Committee and what took place in the course of those discussions it is wholly untrue and is a product of pure imagination. It is a pity that a paper of any standing should give publicity to such a mischievous and wholly distorted version of the proceedings of the Working Committee of the League. The Working Committee was absolutely unanimous on all the resolutions that were passed on Saturday." (A.P.)

*The Statesman, February 5, 1940*

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## 339

### Released to the press his correspondence with the Viceroy, New Delhi, February 6, 1940

Mr. Jinnah has released for publication the following correspondence that had passed between him and the Viceroy with regard to the assurances asked for, on behalf of the All India Muslim League:

*Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, November 5, 1939*:

"Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I wish to thank you for giving me the interview on November 4 as you had promised in your letter of October 28 wherein you stated that you will be glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt as desired by the resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League of October 22.

In my interview with you on November 4 the subject was fully discussed and now, as desired by Your Excellency, I am herewith submitting to you the following points for your consideration and early reply: (1) That as soon as circumstances may permit or immediately after the war the entire problem of India's future constitution, apart from the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be examined and reconsidered *de novo*; (2) that no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enacted by His Majesty's Government or Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, viz. the Mussalmans and the Hindus; (3) that His Majesty's Government should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine; (4) that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country.

"I have already, in my interview, fully explained the reasons and the grounds in support of these points over and above of what is indicated in the statement of September 18 and the resolution of October 22 of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, copies of which have already been sent to Your Excellency.

"There is one more point which was mentioned in the statement of the Working Committee of September 18, viz., the question of securing justice and fair play to the Mussalmans in the Congress-governed provinces where even their elementary rights were being ruthlessly trampled upon; but as the Congress Ministries have gone out of office I do not desire to say anything regarding this matter at present.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah.

*Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah dated New Delhi, November 7*:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of November 5. I fully appreciate the importance of the points which you raised and I will not fail to let you have as early a reply as practicable.

Yours sincerely,
Linlithgow.

*Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated Bombay, November 18*:

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Thank you for your letter of November 7, 1939. Since the receipt of your letter I have been pressed with inquiries from different parts of the country as to how and where we stand. Would you, therefore, mind if I were to publish my letter to Your

Excellency, dated November 5 and your letter under reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah.

*Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated Viceroy's Camp (Jajjah Abbasian), November 26:*

'Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of November 18. I quite understand your anxiety to publish your letter to me of November 5 and my acknowledgment of it. I should welcome it if you could postpone publication for, say, another ten days, as I am anxious that the interval between publication by you and my reply (which naturally must take some little time to prepare as I have to consult His Majesty's Government) should be as short as possible. But if you feel that it is essential for you to publish without waiting so long. I can raise no objection, though I would ask you to be kind enough to let me know in advance the date you contemplate.

Yours sincerely,
Linlithgow.

*Telegram from Mr. Jinnah, Bombay, to Lord Linlithgow, New Delhi, dated November 29:*

"Hope my letter eighteenth has reached Your Excellency. Am waiting for reply as soon as possible."

*Telegram from the Viceroy dated November 29 to Mr. Jinnah, Bombay:*

'Many thanks for your telegram of today. I hope you will by now have received my letter of November 2 posted from Bahawalpur.'

**Assurance to Community**

*Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated Calcutta, December 23*:

'Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am now in a position to reply to your letter of November 5, in which you submitted certain points for my consideration. You will, I am sure, appreciate that more than one of your questions, if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India, and that this correspondence between us would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements on them. But I hope that my answers, limited though their scope may be by this consideration, will nonetheless serve to remove your difficulties.

2. My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October 18 last does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

3. With reference to your second point, I can assure you that His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehensions as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India. You need therefore have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives to their views will be underrated.

4. In framing their policy for Palestine, His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and they continue to be fully alive to the importance of that issue.

5. Finally you asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or

country. This question is fortunately hypothetical, since His Majesty is not at war with any Muslim power. You will appreciate, however, that it is impossible to give a guarantee in terms so wide as those of your letter, which would have the effect of limiting India's right to use its own army in its own defence in circumstances which cannot now be foreseen; in the present situation, however, as you are aware, every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India, to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected.

Yours sincerely,
Linlithgow.

*Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, February 6:*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am herewith sending a copy of the Working Committee's resolution passed on February 3 regarding the correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah."

Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, dated February 3:

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Jinnah, the President, and His Excellency the Viceroy, ending with his final reply dated December 23, 1939.

'The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation. The Committee, therefore, empowers the President to place the views of the

Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee dated September 18 and October 22, 1939, and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India.' (A.P.)

*The Statesman, February 7, 1940.*

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## 340

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the motion regarding 'Catering Contracts on Indian Railways', New Delhi, February 8, 1940.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: I beg to move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to fix without delay definite principles for the sale of food on Railway stations and in running trains, and end the discussions on the subject in Railway Advisory Committees and terminate the continuous experiments by Railway officials."

I may state at the outset that this Resolution is not intended to censure either the Government or any railway official, but it is due to a feeling which exists in the minds of the travelling public that some definite steps should be taken in this matter. Catering arrangement is an integral part of the amenities of passengers. Catering at a high price will tend to divert the traffic from rail to road. Every person interested in the future prosperity of the railways should take interest in good catering arrangements. No person will undertake a holiday trip in a train unless he is assured of good food and at a moderate cost. Therefore, this question of catering arrangements is an essential part to attract the traffic from road to rail. Persons who have to travel will travel whether you give them good food or not or whether they starve or not. But there are a large number of persons who really go out for pleasure and it is they who are

affected very much if they find that they cannot get good food at a moderate cost, and it is the duty of the railway administrations and of every person who is interested in the well-being of the railways that they should attend to their needs. This subject always arouses a lot of discussion when the question is brought up before the House. Let me just give a little history about this matter which really necessitated the moving of this particular Resolution. I raised this question in the Central Advisory Council for Railways on the 18th November, 1931, that is, about nine years ago. The Railway Board at that time gave an assurance on three points. The first was that the contracts were not to be auctioned, because at that time there was a tendency to give contracts to highest bidders. The second point on which they gave an assurance was that sub-contracts would not be permissible, and I admit that so far as this is concerned, they have been following this particular recommendation, though it has appeared in a different form which I will develop later on. The third principle which they agreed to was that the rates should be the market rates.....

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**Mr. M.S. Aney**: Not necessarily. Different contracts may be placed in charge of different sections.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: Not the same man?

**Mr. M.S. Aney**: Not necessarily the same man. In fact, I should like to avoid the same man being put in in charge of different sections.

There is another point to which I wish to refer before I sit down. I am told that there is a kind of discrimination observed by the railway authorities in the case of the arrangements made for the supply of food to certain higher class passengers and supply of food by the Hindu and Muslim contractors, a point to which some reference was made by Mr. Joshi. I am told that most of these European restaurants and

other persons who keep their stalls there have to pay practically no rent at all, or they get their rooms for a nominal rent, and sometimes for no rent at all. I am also told that they have also an exclusive monopoly to supply passengers with certain kinds of drinks. That is a great source of income to them.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammandan Urban): That has stopped.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Stopped in Bombay, but not eveerywhere. My Honourable friend comes from Bombay and so he knows the arrangements there, but other persons are more fortunate in this matteer. They make money there.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: We are penalised.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: You are becoming more virtuous for that reason, — that is what we are told.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: That I am doubtful about.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I am told that this policy of allowing them a monopoly of selling drinks enables them to make large profits.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates,*
*1940, Vol. I, pp. 174, 189.*

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## 341

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 'Excess Profits Tax Bill,' New Delhi, February 9, 1940.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman** (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to introduce the Bill to impose a tax on excess profits arising out of certain businesses.

Sir, with your permission, I should like to make a change in the date which appears in the next motion opposite my name, the reasons for which I shall explain in the course of my speech. The date I wish to insert is the 6th March, 1940.

**Honourable Members**: Make the motion first.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to impose a tax on excess profits arising out of certain businesses....."

**Mr. M. S. Aney** (Berar: Non-Muhammadan): The motion for introduction has not been put to the House.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There is no motion for leave to introduce the Bill. The Bill has already been published in the Gazette.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: ".....be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr. J.F. Sheehy, Mr. S.P. Chambers, Mr. A Aikman, Sir H.P. Mody, Seth Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Babu Baijnath Bajoria and the Mover, with instructions to report on or before the 6th March, 1940, and that the number of members whose presence shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Committee shall be five."

. . . . .

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**:.....that money may not be capital, the Income-tax Department may hold that it is income and say, your income should go up by that amount. Nothing to do with the war; merely, to do with certain legal claims made by one party against another, which may benefit one party at the cost of the other party. Such income will go into the chargeable accounting period, it will not be in the standard period and Government will promptly seize 50 per cent of it. There is no provision in the Bill for such a case.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): How would you define war profits?

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: I will come to that, but let me just finish this question. I will give you a concrete instance of what happened. There is a very big company. It has got preference shares. The point in dispute was whether those preference shares were income-tax free or not. Certain shareholders went to court. The court held that at least three years of income-tax should be returned to the shareholders. It amounted in that case to something like Rs. 25 lakhs. There are some shareholders who will get a lakh of rupees. That lakh of rupees would be held by the Income-tax Department to be income and will go into the chargeable accounting period and there will be nothing to compensate in the standard period and Government will get half of it.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No. That is not business.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: That is business according to Government.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Supposing I am a shareholder and because of this decision I get a dividend on my shares, which I otherwise would not have got.....

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: No dividend.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** I am talking of the Act.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: I am talking of the case which I was citing.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I cannot come under this Act.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: It will be added to the income in the chargeable accounting period and because that income is a windfall, there is nothing to compensate in the standard period.....

. . . . .

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** Unless Honourable Members are prepared to sit late this evening, I would request that you fix tomorrow for a sitting as an official day.

**Honourable Members**: Monday.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Sir, I have tried to ascertain the views of various Members of this House and I am very glad that the Leader of the House considers that his first proposal is not a practical one, namely, to sit up late till we have finished the motion today. We need not trouble about that. The only other point is whether we should sit on Saturday or Monday.....

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: We are sitting on Monday in any case.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I mean on this motion. We are sitting on Monday and we can go on with this motion on Monday. The question, therefore, is Saturday or Monday. I have tried to ascertain the views of Honourable Members on this side, and it is impossible to sit on Saturday, because there are various reasons: they have made their engagements and commitments and so on and really I cannot understand why the Government seem to think that this Bill should be rushed through like this. Is this House entirely at the mercy of the Government that they should lay down the time table that we should not have full discussion on a Bill of this importance?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: I never hinted that there should not be full discussion.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I quite understand that government are anxious that this Bill should go through as quickly as possible. The real business commences in the Select Committee and that will begin after the budgetary position is exposed and that will not be until the beginning of March. The real business of the Select Committee will begin then. I quite agree that we

should not be a party to undue delay. Remember that if the House had been full, this Bill would have been debated for two or three days more.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan**: In that case the Session would have begun earlier by a week.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Who asked the Government to cut it down? Therefore, I do think that we cannot go on. I personally am quite willing to sit tomorrow. That is speaking for myself. You must, however, consult the convenience of other people.

**Mr. M.S. Aney**: Sir, the same difficulty confronts me also.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What strikes me is this. That if the Select Committee has to finish its work by the time mentioned in the Bill, then I take it that the debate on this motion must be concluded in proper time. But I have also to consider the convenience of the Members of the House generally. As the Leaders of two Groups think that it will not be convenient for them to sit tomorrow, all that I can say is this. I am prepared to sit a little bit late today and then on Monday I think Honourable Members might try to conclude the debate as soon as possible. If that meets with the wishes of the House, I am prepared to sit till six of the clock today.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: On Monday I can say that this motion must be disposed of finally. There will be no question of going beyond Monday.

.....

**Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta**: I have not studied their mind. I do not know what is going on in their mind. I did not say what they were thinking of. I have only said that they have not as a matter of fact adopted this measure up to now except to a

certain extent in Canada.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): What is the alternative to this?

**Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta**: That is the *second* point. I am now dealing with the initial question as regards the principle of this Bill. I am not thinking now of any abstract question; I am speaking of India. I am thinking of India at the present moment as to whether, in the circumstances, this particular Bill can be supported, that is the point I am discussing, and not as to whether such a Bill should be supported in Great Britain or elsewhere. We are dealing with India only at the present moment.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: My question was that, if the war has created a necessity for extra expenditure, what is the alternative source that you would like to tax?

**Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta**: I shall be very frank. If, in the first instance, it is decided that there must be taxation.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Yes, assuming that.

**Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta**: I have not gone into that question, but out of respect to my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, I must answer that question at this stage. I must admit frankly that, if a tax is to be imposed, and if a choice has to be made between general taxation and taxation like this, then I am prepared to endorse the argument of Sir Jeremy Raisman that, as between general taxation and this taxation, this is preferable.....

.....

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Sir, the debate has been going on for the last few days and most of the points which are of importance in principle have been threshed out. I only want to make a few observations to indicate the grounds on which I base my

objections to the Bill as it stands at present. The Honourable the Finance Member in moving his Bill made a conciliatory speech. It was an agreeable departure from the traditions which have been observed by the treasury benches, particularly by the predecessor of my Honourable friend, for the last five years. The main point and the broad principle on which he wanted to justify the present measure was what he has felicitously described as the principle of social justice.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: That is not his main point.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: That is the broad principle on which he wanted to justify this measure. My Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, says, it is not his main point. I do not know if it was his main point or not.....

. . . . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney**:..... The Government's original intention was to finish off the whole affair by getting the consent of the people before the House knew what the financial commitments of future years were going to be. 16th February — that was the original date on which you wanted to present the report of the Select Committee?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** To present the report but not to proceed with the Bill.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: The Select Committee was to finish its business so far as the main part of the Bill, i.e., the very important part of the Bill, was concerned by that date, and after the Select Committee has presented its report, it is more or less a formal matter because the views of the leading Members on important points are generally expressed in the Select Committee's report and those views generally prevail with the House when the report is taken up for consideration.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: We will accept no report which does

not meet with our approval.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: The Honourable Member says 'that he shall not present he report of the Select Committee before the 6th March'. I was addressing my argument in respect of the state of things which existed before he made the above announcement. My point is this. So far as this Bill is concerned, we are asked to give our consent to it in circumstances of a very peculiar nature.

The third thing which I want to bring to the notice of the House is this. As regards the war which I was talking about, the position was, on the other hand, that all the important political organisations in this country whose representatives are in this House have, as far as the war is concerned, made a kind of conditional offer of co-operation, including the great Muslim League organisation which My Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, represents. Negotiations are going on, and if those negotiations are to bear fruit, I think it is better that the Government do not call upon this House to commit itself unnecessarily to financial decisions of this character if it wants to ensure the success of those negotiations.

. . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Sir, this is really a very exceptional Bill and also very complicated in many respects and before I deal with the Bill, as some of the Members have already raised the point which is of a constitutional character, I would point out that we have repeatedly made it clear – and I think the world knows it – as to what is the constitutional position of this House. Even if we reject this Bill, it is of very little use because of the power of certification. It will only have a moral effect and there will be some satisfaction that those who sit on this side of the House that we have won the division in the lobby and no more. This House is, therefore, treated as it deserves to be. Hear we have the Government which have decided that this Bill

should be introduced and passed. Now, we have only Hobson's choice, and we have to choose the lesser of two evils and I have to accommodate myself into this position and how best to fit in to do the best for those who are going to be operated upon hence. I have to choose the lesser of two evils. Situated as we are, we must try to minimise the mischief that this Bill is likely to create and may very seriously affect trade and industry, if it is not put right to our satisfaction. I quite agree with my friends, Mr. Aney and Mr. A.C. Datta, that the Government have treated this House in a manner which is, to my mind, shocking. Here is a skeleton Bill which is almost a copy of the English Statute. I speak most respectfully of the Honourable the Finance Member, when I say this; but it gives us no indication whatsoever of the financial position of the Government of India or any other data or information. A hue and cry was raised and very rightly too about the spirit in which this Bill was published and the haste with which Government is proceeding with it. At last we had a glimpse in the speech of the Honourable Member. He said 'No, no, you will have the picture before you and the budgetary position will be thoroughly exposed before this House finally decides and you will have the opportunity of considering this Bill in the light of the budgetary position and other facts that may be available'. That is putting the cart before the horse. But then that is generally the case in this House and we have got to deal with it as best as we can. I agree to a large extent with the emphatic criticism made by the Deputy President but the position is this. Should we allow this Bill to go to a Select Committee or not. Supposing we throw out this motion, Government will say: 'You have declined even to consider this Bill'. When my Honourable friend the Baronet, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, criticised this Bill and many of its provisions, the Honourable the Finance Member said 'All this will have to be considered in the Select Committee'. On this assurance, so far as we are concerned, we are not prepared to oppose this motion but I want to make it quite clear that although we say that we are

not opposed to the principle of the Bill, it is the details that matter most vitally and not the principle. So far as this Bill goes what is the principle of the Bill? I congratulate the Treasury Bench that they have also been inoculated with the principle of social justice. I hope that this germ will fructify. It is a rare treat indeed that in a bureaucratic Government the Finance Member should start with the principle of social justice. May I ask him to carry that principle of social justice into practice nearer home and apply that principle in the matter of reducing fat and high salaries. It is war time and there should be retrenchment and economy.

**Sir Cowasji Jehnagir**: He wants to cut down your travelling allowances.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I do not know whether my information is correct but I believe that since the war the officials who were getting normal salaries have got enormous increases and additions and allowances.

**An Honourable Member**: War allowances.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I do hope that this question will be kept up in its real application of this principle.

Now, the main ground on which this Bill is pressed is this — that the Government have got to incur extra expenditure because of war conditions and that expenditure has got to be met and what more equitable source of taxation than the war profits. Putting it on that basis, I do not think that one can find any serious objection to that. It is quite clear that if Government have got to incur legitimate expenditure owing to war conditions, that expenditure has got to be met. And I quite agree that it is very difficult to suggest a more equitable source; there may be one, but at present I cannot think of one — and to that extent anyhow I do not think that this House can have any objection. But it is not the principle which is vital, so far as this

Bill is concerned, but its provisions and its details, and I want to make it quite clear that, so far as we are concerned on this side of the House, we shall not support the Bill, unless we are satisfied fully that the expenditure is a legitimate one, incurred not in this vague fashion — "war and civil service requirements" — incurred — "mainly" — I do not know what it means — "mainly for the war", — well, that is a very dangerous word — and phraseology "mainly for the war", we shall not be led away by these phrases, but we shall examine the point that the expenditure that is incurred or is going to be incurred or is likely to be incurred is a real, legitimate expenditure which India is bound during the course of this war to incur, for its own interest and for its own defence. Well, that is proposition number one: and second, unless we are satisfied about the requirements and that in order to get that specific amount of money about which we must have a clear idea, we cannot commit ourselves — not this eye-wash, not this blank cheque — what is the blank cheque we are asked to give now? — "that this measure is to last until the Government choose to terminate it." 'We have only got to pass this Bill and give a blank cheque. We are asked to say: 'Very well, take it'. But when is it to end? We do not know. Whether it will be again open to us at any time to review it? No. We are to give you this bill, — a 50 per cent tax on war profits and that is all. Then how much will you get out of it? How will you spend it? We are not told and we shall have no voice of any kind hereafter. Whether this Bill will be subject to examination or review or revision annually? No. I assure you that we will not accept that position. If you want our views — otherwise of course it is no use consulting this House; whatever may be our differences - and there are very vital differences between the Government and us, but up to the present moment the position is this, that, so far as we are concerned, we do not wish to embarrass the Government, because the matter of constitutional adjustments is still pending as a matter of negotiations; until we decide definitely, our position is that we do not wish to embarrass the Government.

On the other hand, we expect the Government to take this House into their fullest confidence — if they want our real co-operation until we break, — and we have not broken away yet. Now, having made these general observations, let me deal with the various points. Now, the first point — I do not want to go into the details of the Bill and the various provisions which are matters of detail and which will be more for the Select Committee. I regret very much — not that I am holding any brief for anybody — but I regret very much that Sir Cowasji Jehangir is not on the proposed Select Committee. We know, Sir, that the subject-matter of this Bill is a matter that can best be understood by businessmen; and, therefore, I would ask the Finance Member to put him on the Select Committee — never mind, it may be said that Sir Cowasji Jehangir or other businessmen are interested and they might give a lot of trouble, create a lot of difficulties, and they would be pulling in their own interests, but don't be afraid of them.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: I am not.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I assure you that when you come up before this House and you put your case before us, I think we shall not only be able to see and read, between the lines, but we shall know which side to support, but let us have the benefit of their criticism. After all, remember we are dealing with the issue involved in this Bill — although I know perfectly well, that some few are openly hostile to capitalistic class. It is all very well, to say so. I think one of the Honourable Members said, "oh, you must get the money out of these capitalists." Sir, it is a mistake. It is not getting money out of the capitalists. Sir, I think my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, is always thinking of the capitalists. Now, just see — I ask Mr. Joshi — who will pay when you talk of the capitalists — who will pay?

**Mr. N. M. Joshi** (Nominated: Non-Oficial): The investors.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: And there are thousands and thousands of investors — small ones, middle class and widows in these businesses — thousands of them. Don't you think that they are going to escape from paying their quota under this Bill. It is not merely the millionaires.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi**: I do not mind.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: You don't mind as long as you get what you want for your workmen, which, you imagine is the heaven, but your heaven is far off. I only wanted to combat the argument and show that it is no use running away with the idea that nobody else is concerned except the "fat capitalists". This is not so. The five thousand assesses, that are estimated, do not mean five thousand but they mean thousands and thousands all over the country. Remember that. Therefore, I hope that that will be borne in mind. But anyhow even the capitalist must live, — well, do you want confiscation, expropriation, do you want that? If that is so, then say it on the floor of the House and be done with it. After all, they must be treated also fairly. I do not say they should be allowed to get away from bearing their legitimate burden in proportion to their capacity. There I agree. Well, Sir, therefore, the first question I would like to draw the attention of Honourable Members to is this that the Select Committee and the Honourable the Finance Member will bear in mind that the first proposition of his is a general one, — that profits arising out of war conditions should be taxed. Now, are they going to make any distinction between profits which will arise directly and solely due to war, and profits which will arise indirectly because of the war? I do not know whether I have made my position clear. Take a big contractor. He is not concerned with any business except to supply to the Army Department, solely for war purposes. Now he makes, we will say, an excess profit. I do not know how you are going to ascertain his excess profit; but if you do, anyhow you will get fifty per cent of it. Take an ordinary trade or normal business,

which also makes excess profits due to the war conditions. Are these two to be considered on the same footing and are they both to pay on the 50 per cent basis? That is one of the points I want to consider. The next point is why have you taken 50 per cent? Why not 10, 12 or 20 per cent? How much will you get? Have you any idea? And what do you want? So far as this 50 per cent is concerned, we are in the dark. I hope that the Select Committee will consider this percentage carefully so that it may appeal to this House to support Government.

The next point is the standard period. I really cannot understand why the Government have stopped at 1938 and why not up to April 1939. Even reading cursorily the report of the Government that was published the other day by Dr. Gregory, we find that the years of 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1938 have not been really years of normal conditions. On the contrary, they were years of depression. So, in the first instance, you start by fixing the standard period when these years were years of depression. You take them as the standard. Now, 1938-39 was also a year of fluctuation. But the war did not begin till September and I cannot understand why you have taken this period out of standard period. I can understand that the conditions in England are quite different. We all know the conditions in England. After Munich in September, 1938, we, all know and it is public property that Great Britain decided to make every possible preparation and from that day the whole machinery of the Government was set in motion. Enormous profits were made before the war was declared and, therefore, I can understand the British Statute taking a particular year which is most suited to the special conditions of Great Britain. I want you, therefore, to consider very carefully as to what should be the standard period and also the charging year fixed in the Bill. Should it be retrospective or from 31st March, 1940, as in the Canadian Bill, which was passed recently.

The next thing is that, this Bill must be put to periodical

examination by this House. I shall never agree, speaking for myself, to give a blank cheque. It must be subject to review and revision annually by this House.

**Mr. M.S. Aney:** The British Act is like that.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Now, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that a statute has been passed in Canada. I have got the summary of it with me. I want the House and the Government to know what the Dominions have done and India cannot be expected to do more. I fact, India is not even in a position to do what Canada is in a position to do. I will take the liberty of mentioning these points one by one. I am reading from a copy of a *Barron's Weekly*, dated the 18th December, 1939. The Excess Profits Tax Act was passed on the 13th September, 1939, in Canada. I am now reading the summary of it from *Barron's Weekly*:

> "This Act imposes a tax on Excess Profits arising either directly or indirectly from war activity. The Act applies only to profits earned in the Fiscal periods ending after March 31, 1940."

May I stop here for a moment? Why do you want to catch the profits by fixing the period that you have fixed? What will you catch? You want to catch some profits that were made in the months of October, November, December and not even January because the moment this baby was published, it frightened people to death. Is that what you want to catch and is it because of this that you have taken those lean years, the years of depression as standard period? To proceed with the summary:

> "Two methods of computation are provided for, the choice being at the option of the tax-payer.
>
> Plant 'A'.— provides a graduated scale of taxation based on profits on capital employed in any business. Capital is defined as paid up share capital plus reserves held at the

> commencement of an accounting period less one-half of the dividend paid during the period. Borrowed money and capital stock to the extent that it represents goodwill or intangible assets are excluded.

Under this Plan, profits up to 5 per cent. of the capital employed are exempted. To the balance of the profits, a graduated scale is applied. The tax increases from 10 per cent on profits between 5 per cent. and 10 per cent on capital employed to 60 per cent on profits exceeding 25 per cent of such capital.

> Plant 'B'.— A fixed rate of 50 per cent. is levied on all profits in excess of average annual net income in the four fiscal years, ending 1936-1939 inclusive. In this calculation both profits and deficits must be taken into account."

Then comes an important point which I want the Finance Member to bear in his mind carefully.

> "In computing taxable profits, the Act specifically provides that the normal corporation income-tax may be deducted from net income."

In other words, according to the present Bill you do not do that. What should be done is that in the first instance the normal income-tax should be assessed on the entire profit. This should be treated as expenditure and then you should get the balance to calculate excess profit. Here it is just the reverse. You can see that from a study of this. To take the example of the Finance Member, supposing you make a profit of 12 lakhs. The standard profit is ten lakhs normal and two lakhs is excess profit. You take away one lakhs straightaway. You take away that one lakh before income-tax is deducted from it. What I suggest is this and this statute also supports me. First of all on the entire profit the income-tax must be deducted. Then the balance that remains which is the profit, from that profit you take the excess profit, whatever that may be.

The only other point which I am not able to understand is this. I do not want to go into these minute points. Why is this exemption limit fixed as Rs. 20,000? Subject to further examination, it seems to me that it is rather hard. After all you do not want to bring people who make small normal profits. What you want really is something substantial, something abnormal that you want to get hold of. Here is a man who is making Rs.30,000 a year and your exemption limit is Rs.. 20,000 and the balance of Rs. 10,000 comes under the hammer of the Bill. Is that fair? Is that what you really want to get at? Of course, if you cannot get what is wanted for your legitimate purposes, then you might consider other sources. That is one of the points which I should like the Honourable Member to consider.

I do not think I can take up the time of the House any more usefully and I think I have made our position clear. I hope the Honourable the Finance Member will bear in mind the situation facing us — I can only say this in conclusion — that not only should the Government be just, but they should make the people feel that justice is done. This is very important. We cannot afford at this critical moment to alienate any class or section of our people in this country.

. . . . .

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: I said nearly every rupee. I say at the same time, as the Honourable Member is aware, that a large part of the equipment is not to be paid for by India, also a large part of the equipment for the United Kingdom is purchased here.

Now, Sir, I come to point which was mentioned by several speakers and which was emphasised by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, and that is the question of an annual review of this tax. Sir, I claim that in putting the Bill before the House

in the form in which I did I was having regard not merely to the advantage to Government but also to the position of the taxpayer. If this tax is treated purely as an annual tax, if the continuance of it is entirely dependent on the initiative of the Government, then there is an aspect which, in my opinion, it may be disadvantageous to the taxpayer. Honourable Members will have noticed, – and I emphasised it in my opening speech – that the character of this measure is such that if a concern makes less than the standard profits in any period when the tax is in force that concern is entitled either to a refund of the tax already paid or to a credit against further tax due. Now, I do not know of any way in which that assurance could be given to the taxpayer by a measure which had validity for only one year.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I did not say that. I did not say that it should be in operation only for one year. What I said was that it should be reviewed and revised if necessary by this House periodically.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjea** (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): By the Legislature and not by the Government.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: I fully accept that point and what is required is some compromise so to speak or some assurance of the evening out of the tax over the period of its operation with a provision which will bring the tax before the Legislature annually.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Is it not a fact that the excess profits tax is a part of the Finance Act of 1940 in the United Kingdom?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: I am not quite sure whether it is.

**Mr. S. P. Chambers** (Government of India: Nominated Official): May I say that the tax is a part of the annual Finance

Act and the income-tax also is.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: But there is also in England a part of that legislation which has more than annual effect. I think there is something there which goes on. Perhaps the position is like that of our Income-tax Act; the Statute is enacted until it is repealed and possibly the annual rates are to be determined in the Finance Act.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Like salt tax.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: However, I am quite open to examine the exact bearing of this point in Select Committee.....I have had several suggestions regarding enlarging the Committee. I should have been very glad to be able to comply with all these suggestions but it would have resulted in a state of affairs which would have made it exceedingly difficult for the Committee to proceed expeditiously. I propose to add the following names: Sir Raza Ali, Mr. F.E. James and Sir Abdul Hamid. I have thought over carefully and discussed the inclusion of Sir Cowasji Jehangir but I have come to the conclusion, Sir, that the Committee will be fully representative of all kinds of business and that Sir H.P. Mody already represents many of the interests which Sir Cowasji would represent. I propose to add these names to the motion.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I formally move that Sir Cowasji Jehangir's name be added.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I move that Dr. Banerjea's name be added.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1940, Vol: I, pp. 87, 249-50, 267-68, 299, 304, 308, 310-15, 320-22.*

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### Interview to the "Daily Mail," London, New Delhi, February 19, 1940.

"Mr. Gandhi continues to ignore realities. He demands independence — there is no objection. He demands self-determination, again there is no objection. But how does he seek to fulfil all these unexceptionable ideals?

"Despite what he says, he asks the British Government to bring them about. He proposes that representative assembly of Indians be summoned to evolve a constitution, which will include the fullest satisfaction of legitimate minorities. Who is to produce this assembly? And, when it has reached its conclusions, assisted by the highest and most impartial tribunal human ingenuity can conceive, who is to implement its finding.

"There exists at the moment no other sanction in Mr. Gandhi's mind than the British power. Likewise does Mr. Gandhi imagine that the legitimate minorities are to rely on his word, or a party's word, as guarantor of the fullest satisfaction of the legitimate minorities question. Experience of Congress rule in the provinces does not impel the Muslims to rely on that. Moreover, it is unthinkable that the social contract, which must be the basis of an agreed constitution, can ever be the subject of judicial decision by even the highest impartial tribunal. It is equally possible that the resultant judgment would leave the majority aggrieved rather than the minority. That would be in itself a hopeless beginning.

He asks in fact that the British Government, at the behest of the Congress, should impose an 'independence,' and a process of self-determination of party design upon the rest of the country. If he wants to be logical, he should ask for the immediate withdrawal of that humiliating British bayonet, so that the people of India could settle their own manner of self-

determination in complete independence. That he does not do, because he is well aware of what would result if the Congress caucus tried to impose its present ideas in those circumstances.

The Muslim League has been falsely accused of adopting a negative and obstructive attitude. This I believe is due to false propaganda carried on in England and is entirely unwarranted. The Muslim League has in fact made a positive demand that the whole problem of India's future constitution should be taken up as soon as the circumstances permit, or at the latest immediately after the war.

When the British Government and other parties are seriously and earnestly ready to tackle the question of the future constitution, and show a readiness to set up a suitable and practical machinery for that purpose, we shall not delay to give our views as to the nature and personnel of such a machinery. We are ready and prepared to put forward our concrete proposal instead of indulging in abstractions.

So far no such desire has been indicated either by the Viceroy or His Majesty's Government, but both are busy in persuading Mr. Gandhi to descend from ideals to realities. But I may say that one thing now is certain, that Muslim India will never agree to submit its future destiny and fate, or its rights in the governance of this land, or in the making of any future constitution, into the hands of a tribunal of Mr. Gandhi's conception, or of any other variety: nor are we prepared to accept the final arbitrament of Great Britain. We must and shall be the sole and final judges of what is best for us.

*The Hindustan Times, February 20, 1940.*

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### Speech delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of the late Maulana Shaukat Ali, at the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, February 22, 1940.

"Mr. Jinnah paid a tribute to the late Maulana Shaukat Ali who served the Muslim community for the best part of his life. The one great thing about Maulana Shaukat Ali which impressed Mr. Jinnah was that he never swerved by a hair's breadth from the path which, he thought, was right. He was true, faithful and loyal to Islam. No temptation could make him budge an inch from the path he chose for himself. His methods might have been right or wrong, but once he believed that that was the road to glory of Islam, he walked on that road without fear or hesitation. When the Muslim League was revived in April 1936, Maulana Shaukat Ali made up his mind to serve the Muslims through the League organisation and he stuck to it till the end. In him Mr. Jinnah had a loyal colleague since April 1936. He was no longer in their midst, but Mr. Jinnah was not depressed because the struggle had just begun. In any case it would go on, although it might be a long one. He wanted every man and woman to grasp the realities of the situation they were faced with and not to be carried away by catchwords and slogans.

Referring to Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's exhortation to Muslims to free India. Mr. Jinnah said that it looked very beautiful when they said that the Mussalman was born to free India. The crux of the problem was that first they had to get their own freedom. Referring to the talk of a struggle, Mr. Jinnah asked what arms and ammunitions his people had? What was their strength? He would be a bad general who would lead them to slaughter. He came across everyday with all classes of people and found a striking contrast between the outlook of

the Muslims and the Hindus. Whereas the Muslim intelligentsia had superficial ideas and was easily carried away by catchwords and slogans, he found his Hindu friends, men and women even uneducated among them, with whom he came into contact, miles ahead of the Muslims. He did not wish ill to the Hindus. He was glad that they were better equipped. He had no malice against them. He thought that Muslims were far behind the Hindus in several respects. They were numerically inferior to Hindus, although he did not recognise that numerical strength of a community was an index of its strength.

He summed up the position of the Muslims as follows: They were financially bankrupt, economically zero and educationally at the bottom of the ladder. With all earnestness he, therefore, asked them that if they wished to get their proper place they should equip and qualify themselves. They had to study and understand the complexities of the problems with which they were faced. It would be no use indulging in tall talk like saying that Muslims had ruled over this country for centuries in the past, and had a right to rule even now. What was required was industry, effort and a sense of duty and responsibility. That was the way to lay the foundation of a nation.

Referring to the political problem with which Muslims were faced, Mr. Jinnah, without going into details, summed up the position thus: Britain wants to rule over India, Mahatma Gandhi wants to rule over Muslim India. We are modest people and say that we won't allow either of them to rule over us, combined or separately. The world has realised, the British Government with their shrewdness have already recognised that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India, but light has not dawned within the territories of Segaon yet, and Mr. Gandhi is still groping in the dark.

Reverting again to the meagre resources of the League, Mr. Jinnah said that his place on Aurangzeb Road, as a private residence, might be considered enviable, but where was the secretariat or the army? His entire equipment was confined to an attache-case, a typewriter, and a personal assistant. He was against under-rating their difficulties, although he made it clear that he did not mean that he had a defeatist mentality or that he had not the fullest faith in his people. With all the difficulties with which they were faced he still believed that the Muslims were more politically-mined than any other community. Political sagacity was steeped in their blood and remnants of past Islam were pulsating in them. The League was now an institution, had given them a platform, a flag and a programme and a policy. He wanted them to strengthen their organisation. When he felt that the decisions they would take would be taken not by some only but by the Muslims as a whole, he would be willing to give marching orders. He did not insist on unanimity, because that was not possible in any nation. He, however, insisted on the solid and conscious support of a majority of his people. If that was forthcoming he would be willing even to face bullets. He wanted to feel that there was a reasonable chance of defeating his enemies before he could march ahead.

Further, illustrating his insistence on preparedness for a struggle, Mr. Jinnah said that England was not able to defy Hitler till September. Austria and Czechoslovakia had to be sacrificed. Mr. Chamberlain had to go to Munich to plead with Hitler. They now knew that Mr. Chamberlain signed the Munich Pact because he found England was not sufficiently prepared for a war in September 1938. Mr. Jinnah said: May I ask, was not Britain a mighty power at that time, had not Britain a mighty fleet and an army? Why did she then wait? Because they in England were not fully ready. In the same way, when I am convinced of the Muslims' readiness for a struggle, I will give them marching orders, and those who betray us at that

time will deserve to be shot down. Even Mahatma Gandhi with his mighty organisation, unlimited resources and the backing of the press, is today hesitating to launch a civil disobedience movement because he is not prepared and is getting ready. My advice to the Muslims is "Let us also get ready."

*QAP-File 1008/p. 138*

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## 344

### Article on the Constitutional Maladies of India sent at special request of "Time and Tide," London, February 23, 1940.

The constitutional maladies from which India at present suffers may best be described as symptoms of a disease inherent in the body-politic. Without diagnosing the disease, no understanding of the symptoms is possible and no remedy can suggest itself. Let us, therefore, first diagnose the disease, then consider the symptoms and finally arrive at the remedy.

What is the political future of India? The declared aim of the British Government is that India should enjoy Dominion Status in accordance with the Statute of Westminister in the shortest practicable time. In order that this end should be brought about, the British Government very naturally would like to see in India the form of democratic constitution it knows best and thinks best, under which the government of the country is entrusted to one or other political party in accordance with the turn of the elections.

Such, however, is the ignorance about Indian conditions among even the members of the British Parliament that, in spite of all the experience of the past, it is even yet not realised that this form of government is totally unsuited to India. Democratic

systems based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India, and this simple fact is the root cause of India's all constitutional ills.

Even as Under-Secretary of State for India, the late Lt. Col. Muirhead, failed to appreciate this fact, for, deploring the present communal tension, he expressed the opinion that the tendency on the part of the both, those in power and those in opposition, was to consider that what the position now was would be the position always. He deplored the failure of Indians to appreciate an essential feature of democratic government — namely, the majority and minority are never permanent, and he, therefore, felt that the minorities' opposition to federation on the assumption that from the outest power would be in the hands of an irremovable majority, was untenable. But he forgot that the whole concept of democracy postulates a single people, divided however much economically, and he might well have started his study of Indian problems by consulting the report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms (*Sessions* 1933-34, Vol. I, *para* I).

> "India is inhabited by many races...often as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe. Two-thirds of its inhabitants profess Hinduism in one form or another as their religion, over seventy-seven millions are followers of Islam; and the difference between the two is not only of religion in the stricter sense but also of law and culture. They may be said indeed to represent two distinct and separate civilizations. Hinduism is distinguished by the phenomenon of its caste, which is the basis of its religious and social system, and, save in a very restricted field remains unaffected by contact with the philosophies of the West; the religion of Islam, on the other hand, is based upon the conception of the equality

of man."

Perhaps no truer description of India has been compressed into a paragraph and, without this background, no understanding of Indian problems is possible. The British people must realise that Hinduism and Islam represent two distinct and separate civilizations and, moreover, are as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe.

They are in fact two different nations, and if this fact is accepted by no less an authority than the Joint Select Committee, the Muslim people have cause to question the wisdom of the British Government in forcing on India the Western system of democracy without the qualifications and limitations to which the system must be subject to make it at all suitable for Indian conditions.

If, therefore, it is accepted that there is in India a major and a minor nation, it follows that a parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of the major nation. Experience has proved that, whatever the economic and political programme of any political party, the Hindu, as a general rule, will vote for his caste-fellow and the Muslim for his co-religionist.

The British people, being Christian, sometimes forget the religious wars of their own history and to-day consider religions as a private and personal matter between man and God. This can never be the case in Hinduism and Islam, for both these religions are definite social codes which govern not so much man's relation with his God as man's relation with his neighbour. They govern not only his law and culture, but every aspect of his social life and such religions, essentially exclusive, completely preclude that merging of identity and unity of thought on which Western democracy is based, and inevitably bring about vertical rather than the horizontal divisions

democracy envisages.

Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and its imposition on India is the disease in the body politic. Let us now consider the inevitable symptoms.

Led by an astute Hindu politician of the first rank, Mr. Gandhi, the Congress (which is mainly a Hindu body) had long foreseen that in the Western form of democracy lay the fulfilment of their hopes of a permanent all-India dominance. All their efforts and energies had, therefore, been bent towards securing for India a completely democratic form of government and they realised that the new constitution would bring their goal immeasurably nearer if it could be worked on lines chalked out by their leader and the Working Committee

Therefore, while crying that the new constitution was thoroughly unsatisfactory and totally unacceptable, the Congress decided to contest the elections held before its inauguration and, as was inevitable, secured complete majorities in the six Hindu provinces of India, namely, Bombay, Madras, U.P., C.P., Bihar and Orissa. The Congress, however, was as completely defeated in the five Muslim provinces, namely Bengal, Punjab, Sind, N.W.F. and Assam and even in the Hindu provinces failed to capture any appreciable number of seats in non-Hindu constituencies, particularly Muslim electorates.

This, undoubtedly, was an unsatisfactory situation for a self-styled "national" party, and exposure of its communal character seemed imminent. Rushing to Wardha for guidance, the Working Committee took stock. What was the position? In five provinces they had been defeated and while they held a complete majority in six, the oppositions, weak in numbers though they were, were led by the small but solid blocks of Muslim League members.

This situation had two very unsatisfactory aspects. First

it brought out the completely Hindu composition of the Congress, and secondly it would be difficult to ignore and over-ride Muslim-led oppositions as long as the Governors of the Provinces were in possession of special powers granted to safeguard minority interests. Realising at once that such circumstances would considerably hinder their plans, the congress played its trump card. It refused to accept office. To the consternation of the Muslims and other minorities, overnight, the Viceroy and the Governors became suppliants. What would the Congress have them do? What assurances did the Congress need? The answer was ready. Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers and we will accept office. Hastily, the constitutional guardians of minority and other rights jettisoned their trust and amidst much mutual appreciation of each other's "statesmanship," the Congress and the British Government came into political alliance. Victory number one.

But there was still that troublesome first point. The whole game would be up if purely Hindu Governments took office and in at least three of the six provinces not a single Muslim had been returned on the Congress ticket and not more than one or two in the others. But what of it? Surely there must be at least one amongst the Muslim members who would be unable to resist the bait of a ministership. They would offer the ministership provided he signed the Congress pledge.

But would the Governor agree to this camouflage? What did his Instrument of Instructions advise? "In making appointments to his Council of Ministers our Governor shall use his best endeavour to select his Ministers in the following manner, that is to say, in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the legislature to appoint those persons (including, so far as practicable , members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence

of the legislature. But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need of fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers."

Anxiously the Working Committee analysed the implication. The instructions seemed to be in two parts. In the first the Governor was instructed to use "his best endeavour to select as ministers...persons (including as far as practicable members of important minority communities)..." The spirit underlying these words was clear. It was to secure for important minorities a Minister who commanded their confidence and since there was no difference in the political programmes of the Congress and Muslim League parties in the legislatures, there was no reason why it was not"practicable" for a Muslim League member to be appointed a Minister.

But what about the last words: "But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers?" This fortunately could be turned to suit their purpose if the Governor was prepared to allow this second part, advisory and subsidiary to the main instruction, to over-rule the first.

They had but to claim that joint responsibility was impossible unless the Muslim Minister was prepared to abide by the decisions of the Working Committee and their point was won. Meekly the Governors acquiesced and in order to allow the Congress to deceive the public by making it appear that it was "national" and looking after the interests of the minorities by including a "representative" of them in the Council of Ministers accepted as Muslim Ministers individuals who by no stretch of imagination could be regarded as representatives of the Muslim community and who, by signing the Congress pledge,were responsible to the Working Committee alone. Victory number two.

Surprised by such easy victories, the Congress, became

intoxicated with power. The working committee arrogated to itself the position of a parallel central government to whom the provincial governments were responsible. Regional dictators were appointed, and the Ministers were entirely subject to their orders generally, and no provincial legislation could be enacted without their approval. They then proceeded to stifle even the little opposition that existed. Having dealt with the British, they now dealt with the Muslims.

An India-wide attack on the Muslims was launched. In the five Muslim provinces every attempt was made to defeat the Muslim-led coalition ministries and by offering local political leaders ministerships and other inducements, Congress ministries came into power in at least two other provinces N.W.F.P., and Assam. In the six Hindu provinces a "*kulturkampf*" was inaugurated. Attempts were made to have *Bande Matram*, the Congress party song, recognised as the "National Anthem", the party flag recognised as the national flag, and the real national language Urdu, supplanted by *Hindi*. Everywhere oppression commenced and complaints poured in such force into the Muslim League's Central Office that the Pirpur Committee, whose report is available, was appointed to investigate these grievances. Such over-whelming evidence was collected that the Muslims, despairing of the Viceroy and the Governors ever taking action to protect them,have lately been forced to ask for a Royal Commission to investigate into their grievances.

Such was the position on the eve of the resignations of the Congress ministries, a position over which the British people might well ponder. Is it their desire that India should become a totalitarian Hindu State with the Central and all the Provincial Governments responsible not to their legislatures or to the electorate but to a caucus, unknown to the constitution, the Working Committee of the Congress? They may rest assured that such will be the inevitable result if the Congress demand for

the right of framing India's constitution through a constituent assembly is conceded.

Let us consider briefly the implications of this nebulous and impracticable Constituent Assembly. To commence with, the question arises why is this demand made at this particular time? The answer is obvious. The War is to the Working Committee a heaven-sent means of increasing its rule from over eight provinces to over the whole of India, States and Provinces. If the British Government are stampeded and fall into the trap under the stress of the critical situation created by the War, India will face a crisis the result of which no man could prophesy, and I feel certain that Muslim India will never submit to such a position and will be forced to resist it with every means in their power.

And of what type of constitutionalists will this constituent Assembly consist? There are in India roughly 400,000,000 souls who, through no fault of their own, are hopelessly illiterate and consequently priest and caste-ridden.They have no real conception of how they are being governed even to-day and it is proposed that to the elected representatives of such, should India's future constitution be entrusted. Is it too much to say that, since the vast majority of the elected representatives will be illiterate Hindus, the Constituent Assembly will be under the influence of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders and the constitution that will emerge will be as the Working Committee direct?

Thus,through the Constituent Assembly, will the Working Committee attain its ends. British control and commerce will disappear, the Indian States will be abolished; minority opposition will be stifled and a great Hindu nation will emerge governed by its beloved leader, Mr. Gandhi, and the Congress Working Committee!

We have now considered the disease and the symptoms.

What is the remedy? (1) The British people must realise that unqualified Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and attempts to impose it must cease. (2) In India, it must be accepted that party government is not suitable and all governments, Central or Provincial, must be governments that represent all sections of the people.

In this connection the All-India Muslim League has laid down the following broad principles:-

(1) That the British Government should review and revise the entire problem of India's future constitution *de novo* in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present provincial constitution, and developments that have taken place since 1935 or which may take place hereafter.

(2) While the Muslim League stands for a free India, it is irrevocably opposed to any federal objective which must necessarily result in a majority community rule, under the guise of democracy and parliamentary system of government.

(3) No declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League, nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval.

To conclude, a constitution must be evolved that recognises that there are in India two nations who both must share the governance of their common motherland. In evolving such a constitution, the Muslims are ready to co-operate with the British Government, the Congress or any party so that the present enmities may cease and India may take its place amongst the great countries of the world.

*Time and Tide, March 9, 1940*

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## 345

### Speech delivered at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, Delhi, February 25, 1940.

In the course of discussion on the resolutions Mr. Jinnah who was in the chair, made a survey of the position since the outbreak of war, reiterated the Muslim League's demands and re-emphasised the determination of the League to let neither the British nor Mahatma Gandhi rule over Muslims.

Mr. Jinnah in asking the meeting to confirm the Working Committee's resolutions made a statement reviewing the position since the outbreak of war till the last meeting of the Working Committee and said: I have already communicated to His Excellency the Viceroy the resolutions of the Working Committee and have intimated to His Excellency the view-point of the League. There the matter stands at present and we are now awaiting what His Excellency proposes to do next.

The League had put forward a fivefold demand before the Viceroy: proceeded Mr. Jinnah. First, the League had demanded a clear statement on behalf of the British Government that the present Act of 1935 would go lock, stock and barrel and the entire scheme of constitutional reform would be examined *do novo* in the light of experience gained from the working of the constitution during the last two years and in the light of experience which might be gained in future. This demand said Mr. Jinnah, had been acceded to by the Viceroy, who had assured them that the whole scheme of the Act of 1935 would be examined afresh as also the policy and plan underlying it.

The second demand on which the League insisted was that Mussalmans would not agree to any declaration without their consent and approval being obtained for it, nor was any

interim settlement to be made under the threat or at the behest of any other party, however strong it was, without the previous approval of the Mussalmans. In this matter also the Viceroy had assured them that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the importance of Mussalmans and any settlement which ignored them would be unthinkable.

**Unsatisfactory**

Mr. Jinnah said that this statement was unsatisfactory. This left them within the region of consultation and counsel, while Mussalmans demanded that they themselves should be the sole judge of their destiny.

The third demand was that Indian, particularly Muslim, troops should not be used against any Muslim country. In this respect, said Mr. Jinnah, His Excellency had misunderstood the League. The League never asked the Government that Indian troops should not be used in the defence of India. What it had asked was that Indian troops should not be used against a Muslim country outside India.

The fourth demand was for the settlement of the Arab question and Mr. Jinnah urged on behalf of the League that the so-called endeavours to reach a settlement would not do and the British Government must reach a settlement to the satisfaction of the Arabs forthwith.

The last demand of the League related to the Muslim grievances in the Congress governed provinces. It was true that the Governor-General could not intervene when the Congress Ministries did not exist. The question, however, had two aspects. First, the League made it abundantly clear that the Mussalmans had been oppressed in the Congress governed provinces and members of the League were made the special targets. The Congress "High Command" had characterised these statements as false but was willing to set up a judicial committee. That

proposal was absurd.

On the other hand, said Mr. Jinnah, I had offered to accept a Royal Commission consisting of two people from outside India. It was then said that the congress was not willing to have outsiders as arbitrators in their domestic affairs, as if Sir Maurice Gwyer was born in Wardha. Mr. Jinnah declared that he repeated the demand again.

The second aspect of the question was whether the "High Command" Caucus Ministries were again to be put into office. The "Deliverance Day" demonstrations had amply shown how every section of the people outside the Congress was opposed to Congress rule.

Referring to the Congress claim to be a protector of the minorities, Mr. Jinnah quoted a letter from Mr. Gandhi to a prominent citizen of Sukkur in which he said: "The reincorporation of Sind in the Bombay Presidency may or may not be a good proposition on other grounds but certainly it is not for the purpose of greater protection of life and property. Every Indian, be he Hindu or any other, must learn the art of protecting himself. It is the condition of real democracy. The State has a duty, but no State can protect those who will not share with it the duty of protecting themselves."

Mr. Jinnah also quoted the statement of Mr. Gandhi in the latest issue of *Harijan* in which Mr. Gandhi admitted that the proper organisation to enter into settlement was the Hindu Mahasabha so far as the Hindus were concerned. Mr. Jinnah asked whom did Mr. Gandhi represent and replied. Not certainly the Mussalmans.

**A Nation**

Mussalmans were not a minority but a nation, Mr. Jinnah asserted. "People ask me what is our goal. If you do not understand even now, then I say you will never understand

what our goal is. Great Britain wants to rule India. Mr. Gandhi wants to rule India and the Mussalmans. We say that we will not let either the British or Mr. Gandhi to rule the Mussalmans. We want to be free."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, February 27, 1940.*

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## 346

### Speech delivered at the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, March 6, 1940.

"That ever since the Minto-Morley reforms most people have assumed that Muslims were a minority and as such needed safeguards for the protection of their rights: but when we used this term we meant it in an entirely different sense. What we meant was that the Muslims were a political entity and that must be preserved at all costs. The separate electorate was only an indication of this inner feeling of the Mussalmans. It was in this spirit that the Lucknow Pact was signed, the basic principle of which was that two separate distinct entities were entering into a mutual settlement. But unfortunately the Hindus understood one thing from this pact and we understood another. They thought that the Muslims were a mere minority who should be governed and ruled by the Hindu majority. The Muslims were constantly bamboozled into a false sense of security; and the term minority came to be regarded as historical, constitutional and legal. The Muslims were by no means like the minorities in European countries. When the present Constitution was being framed the Muslims insisted upon the separation of Sind and the introduction of reforms on an equal footing in the N.W.F. Province; but the Hindus including the Congress opposed it tooth and nail. We were of the view that we must have real power at least in certain areas where we were in majority. On one occasion when this question

was being discussed, the late Maulana Mohammad Ali, disgusted with the unreasonable opposition of the Congress, got excited and said, "I insist upon it as it is my corridor from Karachi to Calcutta." One thing is now obvious that we are by no means a minority but a solid and distinct Nation by ourselves with a destiny of our own.

I have declared on numerous occasions that we Mussalmans are a Nation but when in my letter to Mr. Gandhi recently I made this statement, he said that all his hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity had been dashed. The question is, what are the hopes of Mr. Gandhi and what does he mean by Hindu-Muslim unity? Mr. Gandhi's hope is to subjugate and vassalise the Muslims under a Hindu raj. I have resisted it with all the power at my command and, therefore, I am condemned as the worst Mussalman in this country! If this had not been done and Mr. Gandhi had been allowed to have his own way, there would have been greater disaster than there is today when we are frankly fighting for some clear and definite issues. Many people ask me why Hindu-Muslim settlement had not been reached. I would say that upon Mr. Gandhi's conditions no settlement is possible. There can be no settlement except on equal terms and on a footing of perfect equality. I have got as much right to share in the governance of this country as any Hindu. We have never shown any attitude which may be regarded as inimical to Hindu-Muslim settlement. The Congress on coming into power in several provinces got intoxicated and began to dream of establishing absolute Hindu supremacy over the country. It is this attitude of the Congress caucus which is preventing the Hindu-Muslim settlement, and holding up the progress of the country. The Congress High Command by their attitude are doing the greatest disservice to the Hindus themselves.

Two years ago at Simla I said that the democratic parliamentary system of government was unsuited to India. I was condemned everywhere in the Congress press. I was told

that I was guilty of disservice to Islam because Islam believes in democracy. So far as I have understood Islam, it does not advocate a democracy which would allow the majority of non-Muslims to decide the fate of the Muslims. We cannot accept a system of government in which the non-Muslims merely by numerical majority would rule and dominate us. The question was put to me, if I did not want democracy what then did I want — Fascism, Nazism or totalitarianism. I say, what have these votaries, these champions of democracy done? They have kept sixty millions of people as untouchables: they have set up a system which is nothing but a 'Grand Fascist Council.' Their dictator is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. They set up dummy ministries which were not responsible to the legislatures or the electorate but to a caucus of Mr. Gandhi's choosing. Then, generally speaking, democracy has different patterns even in different countries of the West. Therefore, naturally I have reached the conclusion that in India where conditions are entirely different from those of the Western countries, the British party system of government and the so-called democracy are absolutely unsuitable.

What is the present position? You will remember that when Mr. Gnadhi went to see the Viceroy on the outbreak of war, he broke down and tears rolled down from his eyes when he visualised the possible destruction of West-minister Abbey and the Houses of the Parliament; and he said, 'What was the use of Indian freedom if England and France were defeated?' He says so because he knows that he cannot have his freedom if Great Britain were to leave India. But by the time he reached Segaon, he changed his mind and then came the demand for the declaration of the freedom of India and the summoning of a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise to frame the constitution of India with certain safeguards for the accepted and legitimate minorities. Having played hide-and-seek in the matter of Hindu-Muslim settlement, Mr. Gandhi jumped at this new

idea of the Constituent Assembly, which he claims is the panacea of all the ills. Supposing the minorities were not satisfied, what would happen? They say that this would be referred to the highest tribunal. I ask, is it a question to be decided by a judicial tribunal? It is a question of social contract, of framing the constitution for millions of which could not be adjudicated upon by any judicial tribunal. Even granting that it was done, who will implement and enforce the verdict of the tribunal? It is nothing but a blind to cover their real intentions. Then there are other objections: historically and politically it is an absurd proposal. To ask a foreign power to call a Constituent Assembly and enforce the constitution framed by this Assembly and then to leave the country is the height of absurdity. A Constituent Assembly comes into being when a people have seized sovereign power. Later on Mr. Gandhi shifted ground and said that he would be satisfied with an equivalent of it. Who is to decide what this equivalent would be? Mr. Rajagopalacharya says, 'Fresh elections should be held to the Provincial legislatures, and the members so elected should form the Constituent Assembly.' Mr. Patel goes one better and he says that the present members of the Provincial Assemblies should be allowed to constitute themselves as a Constituent Assembly. But Moonje and Savarkar would not have it as they have no voice in the present Assemblies. Are these gentlemen serious about anything? So far as I have been able to understand, they only want to be a nuisance to the British Government and to blackmail it. It is not that they want the British Government to go but only to cajole and coerce it to give them something which would enable them to dominate the Muslims under British protection.

Now, what is the position of the Muslim League? In the first instance we find ourselves between the devil and the deep sea. The British are not in a hurry to hand over the Government either to the Hindus or to the Muslims. They are playing their

own game. It is no use asking for declarations from the British Government and to go on crying 'give us freedom, give us freedom.' They will never give. There will always be some loophole in any declaration that the British Government may make. We, on the other hand, make a positive demand that this whole Act of 1935 should go lock stock and barrel; and the whole problem of the Constitution of India should be examined *de novo* in the light of experience gained from the working of the wretched Provincial Autonomy, and the developments that may take place hereafter. We have got certain explanations. The Viceroy says that his declaration does not exclude the re-examination of the whole policy and plan upon which the constitution is based. The whole thing is now open; but, in the meantime, the British Government is too busy persuading Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to descend from idealism to reality. So far as we are concerned, we are quite ready to make a realistic approach to the problem. But we have real apprehensions. What we fear is that the British Government may again open the door to Mr. Gandhi to pursue his plan subjugating and annihilating the Muslims and other minorities. I say with all the emphasis at my command that if the British Government attempts or might attempt to have a settlement with the Congress which is detrimental to the Mussalmans, we will not allow it to stand. We are demanding of the British Government that no constitution and no interim settlement be made without the consent and approval of the Mussalmans. But if our fears materialise, all concerned should know that the Mussalmans will resist with every means in their power and reduce the settlement to nullity.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said that it was no use depending upon anybody. We must depend upon ourselves. I am willing to be friendly with all but I depend upon my own inherent strength. Good work has ben done so far by the Muslim League but we are only just on the fringe of it. You should know that a veritable war is going on even in India. I appeal to you to

put your shoulders together, and work with the Muslim League. Stand firm as one solid block of steel; go on organising our people, training them, disciplining them. They are with us. Do not worry about handicaps; organise the Muslims, bring them all together, train them, drill them and make of them the most wonderful political army that India has ever seen; and we will soon reach the goal of our freedom."

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## 347

### Appeal to the voters of Calcutta to vote in favour of the Muslim League Candidates, New Delhi, March 12, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslims Leagues, has sent the following message to the Muslim citizens and voters of Calcutta:

"In the ensuing Corporation Election at Calcutta, I wish every success to all the candidates who have been put up by the Muslim League. I appeal to every Muslim member of the Electorate not only to vote for the Muslim League candidates, but to work for them and give them their complete and wholehearted support.

"Election like the present one is only a phase of the greater fight in which the Muslim League is engaged, and every victory, big or small, means a step forward towards the final goal."

*The Star of India, March 18, 1940*

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## 348

### Statement regarding the clash between the police and Khaksars at Lahore, New Delhi, March 20, 1940.

"I am deeply grieved to hear the tragic account of the incident in Lahore last evening regarding the clash between the police and the Khaksars, resulting in terrible loss of life and injury on both sides. I hope the Khaksars will carry out the instructions issued by their leader, Mr. Inayatullah Mashriqi, published in the newspapers of this morning.

"As one who has always been so kindly treated by the Khaksars, I appeal to them most earnestly to keep peace and not precipitate matters by defying law and order. It is difficult to say anything till I am in a position of full facts of the situation."

Mr. Jinnah added that according to his information there would be no change in their programme of holding the session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore. "I am leaving by the special train at 7-30 this evening as already arranged."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 21, 1940.*

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## 349

### Statement regarding holding the League Session as already arranged and notified, New Delhi, March 20, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has issued the following statement to the Press:

"In full consultation with the Chairman of the Reception Committee and other organizers and with many prominent Muslim leaders who are in Delhi now on their way to Lahore, it is finally and definitely decided to hold the session of the All-

India Muslim League as already arranged and notified. That is, I believe, in consonance with the universal public feeling and opinion of the Mussalmans of Lahore and the Punjab generally.

"I therefore, appeal to the citizens of Lahore particularly to maintain peace and order and to prove to the world that we are capable of adjusting controversial matters justly and fairly. At this critical moment the prestige and honour of the All-India Muslim League is in the hands of the Mussalmans of the Punjab. I feel confident that they will fully respond to my appeal and will conduct the deliberations of the session of the League in a manner which will do credit to Islam."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 21, 1940.*

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## 350

### Interview to the Press Representatives, Lahore, March 21, 1940.

"The Lahore session of the League is going to be a landmark in the future history of the Muslim India. We have to deal with very grave issues that are facing us and I feel confident that with the co-operation of all we shall be able to tackle the various problems successfully. We must be peaceful, orderly and disciplined people and I trust that you will help me in every way you can to make the Lahore session successful."

Referring to the happenings at Lahore, Mr. Jinnah said, "The unfortunate tragic events that have taken place during the last three days resulting in loss of life and injury must not lead you to lose your balance. You must deal with the situation calmly and dispassionately and I feel confident that you shall find a solution of the situation."

*The Tribune, March 22, 1940.*

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## 351

### Speech at the flag-hoisting ceremony, Lahore, March 21, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League, performed the flag-hoisting ceremony at the League pandal, Mr. Jinnah made the Khaksar tragedy the burden of his speech. "Before I say anything," said Mr. Jinnah, "I want to tell you what is uppermost in my mind as I have just returned from the Mayo Hospital, I am sure we all grieve over the unfortunate tragedy which has resulted in a large number of lives being lost and injured. I think every man and every woman must sympathise with the families and the dependents of those who have died and those who have been injured.

"The session of the Muslim League in going to open under the eye of this most unfortunate situation that has been created in Lahore. Let me put to you what is the acid test of a great nation and of a great people. The answer is, the greater the difficulties the more we should keep ourselves calm and cool.

"The Muslim League, I am sure," added Mr. Jinnah, "will not fail to rise to the occasion irrespective of the parties concerned, to handle this question in a manner which is just and fair. You must realise that ours is the only organisation of the Muslims of India. We must, therefore, stand as one man with one voice under this flag which you have honoured me to unfurl."

He concluded by saying that "I have full confidence in my people and we shall face every difficulty in a manner which will be worthy of this great Muslim nation. I, therefore, earnestly appeal to you let us not have any kind of doubt or suspicion with regard to the decisions of the Muslim League, and let us take a right decision and stand by it."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 22, 1940.*

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## 352

### Presidential Address at the 27th Session of the All-India Muslim League, Lahore, March 22, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are meeting today in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All India-Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938.

**Assessment of Developments since 1938:**

You remember that one of the task, which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organise Muslim Leagues all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established Provincial Leagues in every province. The next point is that in every by-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Mussalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was a single by-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidate. In the last election to the U.P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent per cent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging in the direction of organising the Muslim Leagues. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us, because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in

our struggle of life and work. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under purdah. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were: (1) to organise provincial and district Muslim Leagues; (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of great political consciousness — is awakened amongst our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry about; (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the service that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face ill-treatment and oppression to Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that small state of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of the declaration of war. Before the war was declared the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of the federal scheme in the Central Government. We know what machinations were going on. But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the Central Federal Government embodied in the

Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of Central Federal Government. In creating that mind in the British Government the Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clever, they are slow in understanding. After the war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realised that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important Party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet the Viceroy never thought of me before. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All-India Muslim League' whose President I happen to be. I believe that that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received, because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that I want you to realise the value, the importance, the significance of organising yourselves. I will not say anything more on the subject.

But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that Muslim India is now conscious, is now awake and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go, but the League will live for ever.

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war

our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be freedom for all India and not freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus and slavery of Mussalmans and other minorities.

**Buildings Up Self-reliance:**

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences and particularly by experience of the past two and a half years of provincial constitution in the Congress-governed provinces we have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be sufficient lesson of any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed him.

Ladies and gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentlemen's agreement between the Congress and the Britishers to such an extent that although we cried hoarse, week in and out, the Governors were supine and the Governor-General was helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help and that gentlemen's agreement was broken to pieces and the Congress, thanks Heaven, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. The bluff was called off. So far so good.

I, therefore, appeal to you, in all seriousness that I can command, to organise yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves. That does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests you must create that strength in yourselves that you may be able to defend yourselves. That is all that I want to urge.

**Issue For The Future Constitution:**

Now, what is our position with regard to the future constitution? It is that, as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the latest, the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined *de novo* and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declaration. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this land by asking them to make declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy said, "I have made the declaration." The Congress said, "No, no; we want another kind of declaration. You must declare and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as low a franchise as possible. This assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests." Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute. Now, apart from the impracticable character of this proposal and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask the ruling power to abdicate in favour of a Constituent Assembly – apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose we the solid body of Muslim representatives do not agree with the non-Muslim

majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this assembly may do in framing a national constitution of this huge subcontinent except those matters which may be germane to the safeguards for the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as this constitution comes into operation the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course, Mr. Gandhi says that the constitution will decide whether the British will disappear and, if so, to what extent. In other words, his proposal comes to this: First give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation, then I will decide what I should give you back.

Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this? But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Mussalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice, because, we are told, the British will have parted with their power mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it? We come back to the same answer: the Hindu majority would do it — and will it be with the help of the British bayonet or Mr. Gandhi's "ahimsa"? Can we trust them any more? Besides, ladies and gentlemen, can you imagine that a question of this character, of social contract upon which the future constitution

of India would be based affecting 90 millions of Mussalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still that is the proposal of the Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders — each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorates. This is his prescription as one of the great doctors of the Congress organisation! (Laughter) Babu Rajendra Prasad on the other hand only a few days ago said, "Oh, what more do the Mussalmans want?" I will read to you his words. He says, referring to the minority question he says: "If Britain would concede our right of self-determination surely all these differences would disappear." How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

"But so long as Britain remained and held power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution will be framed not by the Congress alone but by the representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil. It will be representative of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religious and political affiliations, who will be deciding the future constitution of India and not this or that party. What better guarantee can the minorities have?" So, according to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations, and religions and everything else. This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18th March, 1940. And this is now what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March, 1940. He says:

"To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans, are all alike. I cannot be frivolous" — "but I think he is frivolous — I cannot be frivolous while I talk of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother."

The only difference is this, that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote! (Laugher.)

"I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket." I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his.

"There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so today."

Why has he lost the confidence of Muslims today? May I ask, ladies and gentlemen?

"I do not read all that appears in the Urdu press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj."

Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years.

"You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight? I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly."

He is fighting the British. But may I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that you are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which, the Muslims say, we cannot accept — which, the Muslims say, means three to one, about which the Mussalmans say that they will never be able, in that way by the counting of heads, to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts, which will enable us to work as friends and, therefore, this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections. But he is fighting for

the Constituent Assembly, not fighting the Mussalmans at all.

He says, "I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent assembly"– mark the words, "who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes" – he is first facing Assembly through Muslim votes" – he is first facing us to come to that Assembly – and then says, "declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims then alone I would give up all hope, but even then I would agree with them because they read the Koran and I have also studied something of that holy Book."

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Mussalmans and if they do not agree then he will give up all hope, but even then he will agree with us! Well, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this the way to show any real, genuine desire, if there existed any, to come to settlement with the Mussalmans? (Voices of no, no.) Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree and I have suggested to him more than once and I repeat it again from this platform, why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, "I am a Hindu, Congress has solid Hindu backing?" I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Mussalman. I am right and I hope and believe even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has solid backing of the Mussalmans of India. Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Mussalmans? Why this declaration of non-co-operation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Mussalmans agree or they do not agree? Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Mussalmans? This is all that I

have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

**Negotiations With The British**

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet, as you know. We had asked for assurances on several points, at any rate we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this. You remember our demand was that the entire problem of the future constitution of India should be examined *do novo*, apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that, the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, was — I had better quote that — I will not put it in my own words. This is the reply that was sent to us on 23rd December:

"My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October the 13th last does not exclude — mark the words "does not exclude" — "examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based."

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points are: (1) that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future constitution of India without our approval and consent, and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back unless our approval and consent is given to it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 millions of people in the hands of any other judge. We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Mussalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree. Therefore the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give

the Mussalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not, after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength and I make it plain from this platform, that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Mussalmans of India will resist. And no mistake should be made on that score.

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that "endeavours, earnest endeavours, are being made to meet the reasonable national demands of the Arabs." Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours (laughter). We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine.

Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops outside. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never intended, and, in fact, language does not justify it, if there is any misapprehension, or apprehension, that the Indian troops should not be used to the fullest in the defence of our own country. What we wanted the British Government to give us assurance of was that Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim Power. Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further.

This, then, is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of the 23rd of December having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 3rd of February and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration.

**The Hindu-muslim Situation:**

Ladies and gentlemen, that is where we stand after the war and up to the 3rd of February.

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it and, you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take interest in the problem of India's future constitution, and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussalmans are a minority and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition.

The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, "Well, you are a minority after all, what do you want?" "What else do the minorities want?" Just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Mussalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India, we occupy large parts of this country, where the Mussalmans are in a majority — such as Bengal, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan.

Now the question is, what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Mussalmans? We have been considering, and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme of constitution, I will present to you my views and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C.R. Das. It was written, I believe, about 14 or 15 years ago and that letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash recently published and that is how this letter has come to light. This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch

Hindu Mahasabhite said. But before I read this letter it is plain from that that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are Hindu! (Laughter). The word 'nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This is what he says:

"There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu-Mohammedan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither *possible nor practicable*. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammedan leaders in the non-co-operation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind.

"You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlu. There is no finer Mohammedan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan, but can any Muslim leader override the Koran? I can only hope that my reading of the Islamic law is incorrect."

I think his reading is quite correct.(Laughter)

"And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right then it comes to this, that although we can unite against British we cannot do so to rule Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan *on democratic lines*."

Ladies and gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was all right but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about 18 months ago there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said 15 years ago that we cannot do so, viz, to rule Hindustan on democratic lines. What is the remedy? The remedy according to Congress is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further:

"What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of the seven crores of Mussalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey, will be irresistible."

"I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Koran and Hadis? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader fifteen years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder, in producing the constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the *London Times* commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote, 'Undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in

the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said, indeed, to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilisations. However, in the course of time, the superstitions will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation.' So, according to the *London Times*, the only difficulties are superstitions. These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political, have been euphemised as mere 'superstitions.' But surely it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the subcontinent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society *vis-a-vis* that of Hinduism to characterise them as mere 'superstitions.' Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities, which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statute. What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the subcontinent from various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

**Autonomous National States:**

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussalmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states.'

There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand, the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interest of Muslims and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of your troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so build up for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as 7 or 8 sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation, which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when we know that the history of the last 12 hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during the ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet, but termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break-up with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which much necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or nonviolently, blow for blow and if

they could not, they must emigrate.

Mussalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even to-day, according to the British map of India, 4 out of 11 provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience. Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideal and according to the genius of our people. Honestly demands and the vital interest of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you, but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most of the things that I have been saying and I think you can easily get that publication both in English and in Urdu from the League office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements. Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world

have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realise your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices and organise your people, strengthen your organisation and consolidate the Mussalmans all over India. I think that the masses are wide-awake. They only want your guidance and your lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by every body.

*QAP-File - 1020/35-56 &*
*"All Indian Muslim League, Lahore Session, March 1940, Verbatum Report of the Presidential Address (Delivered Extempore) by Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Printed & Publicshed by S. Shamsul Hassan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League at Muslim League Press, Daryagannj, Delhi, 1945, pp. 1-23.*

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## 353

### Concluding speech at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, Lahore, March 25, 1940

Mr. Jinnah, in his concluding remarks thanked the Reception Committee for the excellent arrangements and for helping him to conduct the deliberations. He said that he was very perturbed when he heard of the firing on the Khaksars. His life had been shortened by 10 years when he heard of the tragic

happening in Lahore. He was advised by some people not to hold the session in Lahore, but he had faith in the people of the Punjab and he decided not to postpone the session.

When he reached Lahore, he told reporters that the Lahore session of the Muslim League was going to be a landmark in the history of the Muslims of India He had no doubt that but for this tragedy on the eve of the session, it would have proved a greater success. There would have been a magnificent procession, when they would have had an opportunity to demonstrate their enthusiasm. Their enemies had also attempted to mar the session but all their attempts had failed and the session had concluded most successfully.

He was happy that the deliberations of the session were conducted in a cool and calm atmosphere. It was an acid test for the Muslims. When our blood was boiling and when 30 Muslims were shot dead, it was very difficult to keep calm. But you have demonstrated to the world that the Muslims are capable of bearing sorrows. You have also shown to the world that you can conduct your business in a gathering of lakhs. It is the finest certificate that can be given to any nation. The prestige of the League was in the hands of the Muslims of the Punjab. I, therefore, congratulate the Punjab Muslims from the bottom of my heart. It gives me courage to serve you all the more.

**A Landmark**

Continuing — Mr. Jinnah said that the Lahore session had really proved to be a landmark in the history of Muslim India because they had defined their goal. He assured the gathering that they would fight for that goal. They had taken the decision in right earnest.

Finally, he appealed to the Muslims of the Punjab to organise the League in the province and carry its message from village to village and house to house. He exhorted workers, peasants, intelligentsia, landlords and capitalists to speak with one voice – that of Islam.

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 26, 1940.*

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## 354

### Interview to the Press explaining the significance of the League's decision at the Lahore Session, Lahore, March 25, 1940.

"I am for a compromise and an honourable settlement between the Hindus and Muslims and the minorities, but the sooner the ideas of any organisation, however great, representing all India is given up the better," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an interview after explaining the significance of the All-India Muslim League's decisions at the Lahore session.

Referring to the main resolution passed by the League, Mr. Jinnah said that, though no man could lay down a scheduled programme, "but I know that Muslim India will not shirk any sacrifice as we have definitely made up our minds for the realisation of the goal that we have set in front of us."

"The declaration of our goal which we have definitely laid down, of the division of India," he said, "is in my opinion undoubtedly a landmark in the future history of the Mussalmans of India.

"I am asked what are the means by which we will realise this goal. Firstly, by reasoning with and persuading our Hindu friends and the British Government. We believe that our cause

is right and we do not despair of convincing them.

"I really do not see why our Hindu friends or the British Government should put difficulties in the way of our proposal.

"I thoroughly believe that the idea of one united India is a dream. Given goodwill and a friendly understanding, Muslim India and Hindu India can live as most friendly neighbours free from clashes and friction to their respective spheres and peacefully develop the government of their States to their own satisfaction respectively.

"But the struggle will and must be continued and no man can say when we are at the threshold of it and as to how it will proceed. And no man can lay down a scheduled programme because it will depend upon so many factors that may develop and the nature of obstacles that may be created. We will have to deal with the situation from time to time as it may develop. But I know that Muslim India will not shirk any sacrifice as we have definitely made up our minds for the realisation of the goal that we have set in front of us.

**Not Passing Phase**

"This is not a passing phase and it is a mistake to think that the methods of a constituent assembly will make any change in the solid opinion of the Mussalmans.

"Another thing that has emerged from the session of the All-India Muslim League is that in face of the unfortunate occurrence on March 19, resulting in the loss of a large number of Muslims, which shook the Mussalmans of India and particularly of the Punjab and Lahore, the Subjects Committee after many many hours of deliberations came to a unanimous decision and a still more remarkable fact is that the entire body of delegates in the open session and the vast public accepted the resolution moved from the chair also unanimously.

This has shown beyond doubt that the Mussalmans are

capable of standing and going through an ordeal and trial worthy of any great political organisation.

"In my opinion, therefore, this session was far more successful than it would have been otherwise from that point of view. The other no doubt would have been probably a greater spectacular, political demonstration free from the shadow of this tragedy and the gloom that was cast, but there would have been no opportunity to go through the trial and examination of the acid test to which the Muslim League and the Punjab were put."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said: "I have thoroughly enjoyed my stay in Lahore because of the result; otherwise I was worked to death." (A.P.I.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 26, 1940.*

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## 355

### Presidential speech in a meeting held on Iqbal Day, Lahore, March 25, 1940.

"If I live to see the ideal of a Muslim State being achieved in India and I were then offered to make a choice between the works of Iqbal and the rulership of the Muslim State. I would prefer the former."

This view was expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding over the second session of the "Iqbal Day" held in the University Hall, Lahore.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that in April 1936, he thought of transforming the Muslim League, which was then only an academical institution, into a parliament of the Muslims of India. From that time to the end of his life, he continued, Iqbal stood like a rock by him.

Iqbal, Mr. Jinnah said, was not only a great poet who had a permanent place in the history of the world's best literature, he was a dynamic personality who, during his life time, made the greatest contribution towards rousing and developing of Muslim national consciousness. He compared Iqbal with great literary figures of England like Milton and Shelley.

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 26, 1940.*

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## 356

### Address to the students of Jinnah Islamia College for Women, Lahore, March 25, 1940.

That the "weaker sex" is more powerful than both sword and pen was the view expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah while addressing the students of Jinnah Islamia College for Women in Lahore on Monday.

He said: "I have always maintained that no nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take with them their women. No struggle can ever succeed without women ever participating side by side with men.

"There are two powers in the world. One is represented by the sword and the other by the pen. There is a great competition and rivalry between the two. There is a third power stronger than both. That is the woman.

"It is woman and woman alone who can teach man how and when to wield the sword or pen when the occasion arises.

"The Muslim League is not quite oblivious of the vital importance of taking their women with them so that they also participate in the national struggle.

"At Patna we appointed an All-India Women's Central

Committee. During the last 15 months I have been watching their efforts, difficulties and obstacles. Notwithstanding all that great progress has been made by the Committee.

"You young ladies are more fortunate than your mothers. You are being emancipated. I don't mean that you should copy the West. But I do mean that man must be made to understand and made to feel that woman is his equal and that woman is his friend and comrade and they together can built up homes, families and the nation."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 27, 1940.*

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## 357

### Statement on the Lahore Resolution, New Delhi, April 1, 1940.

Mr. Jinnah said: I still hope that at any rate the better mind of the Hindus will give earnest and serious consideration to our proposals as there lies the achievement of India's freedom at the earliest possible period. This freedom we shall be able to retain peacefully both internally and externally.

**Muslim Minorities**

Replying to the critics of the League's resolution, Mr. Jinnah said: In the first place a wrong idea and false propaganda appear to be set in motion in order to frighten the Muslim minorities that they would have to migrate en bloc and wholesale. I wish to assure my Muslim brethren that there is no justification for this insidious misrepresentation. Exchange of population, however, on the physical division of India as far as practicable will have to be considered. Secondly, the Muslim minorities are wrongly made to believe that they would be worse

off and be left in the lurch in any scheme of partition or division of India. I may explain that the Mussalmans, wherever they are in a minority, cannot improve their position under a united India or under one central government. Whatever happens, they would remain a minority. They can rightly demand all the safeguards that are known to any civilised government to the utmost extent. But by coming in the way of the division of India they do not and cannot improve their own position. On the other hand, they can, by their attitude of obstruction, bring the Muslim homeland and 60,000,000 of the Mussalmans under one government, where they would remain no more than a minority in perpetuity.

**Separate Homelands**

It was because of the realisation of this fact that the Mussalman minorities in Hindu India readily supported the Lahore resolution. The question for the Muslim minorities in Hindu India is whether the entire Muslim India of 90,000,000 should be subjected to a Hindu majority raj or whether at least 60,000,000 of Mussalmans residing in the areas where they form a majority should have their own homeland and thereby have an opportunity to develop their spiritual, cultural, economic and political life in accordance with their own genius and shape their own future destiny, at the same time allowing Hindus and others to do likewise. Similar will be the position of the Hindus and other minorities in the Muslim homelands.

In my opinion after the present tension created by the ambition of one community dominating over the other and establishing supremacy over all the rest is ceased, we shall find better understanding and goodwill created all round. The division of India will throw a great responsibility upon the majority in its respective zones to create a real sense of security amongst the minorities and win their complete trust and confidence.

**Position Of Sikhs**

Mr. Jinnah next dealt with the apprehensions created amongst the Sikhs by the Lahore resolution and said: I always have had an admiration and respect for the Sikh community and I want my Sikh friends to thoroughly study the constitutional problem of India as it stands to-day. I am sure that they would be much better off in the North-West Muslim zone than they can ever possible be in a united India or under one central government. For under one central government their voice would be negligible. The Punjab in any case would be autonomous sovereign unit. And, after all, they have to live in the Punjab. It is obvious that whereas in a united India they would be mere nobodies, in the Muslim homelands constituted of the western zone of the federated autonomous states, including the autonomous sovereign states of the Punjab, the Sikhs would always occupy an honoured place and would play an effective and influential role.

**Indian States**

Dealing with the Indian States, Mr. Jinnah said: The only important States which matter are not in the eastern but in the north-western zone. They are Kashmir, Bahawalpur, Patiala, etc. If these States willingly agree to come into the federation of the Muslim homeland, we shall be glad to come to a reasonable and honourable settlement with them. We have, however, no desire to force them or coerce them in any way.

**Relations With Britain**

In regard to the relationship of the Muslim homelands with Great Britain, Mr. Jinnah referred to the Lahore resolution which said: "This session authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all power such as defence, external affairs,

communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said: As regards other zone or zones that may be constituted in the rest of India our relationship will be of an international character. An example already exists in the relationship of India with Burma and Ceylon.

**Congress Critics**

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said: One set of criticism has come from some of the Congressite Mussalmans. Obviously they are speaking in their master's voice and I do not think anyone need worry about it. As to the criticism of some of the Congress leaders it is a parrot-like cry and thoughtless. The only person who has made any serious attempt to criticise the Lahore resolution is Mr. Rajagopalacharya. He however, judges others by his own standards of political integrity when he says that we mean what we do not say, namely, what Mr. Jinnah desires is a fuller amplitude for the so-called Muslim provinces to work out their progress without being hampered by a central government working under conditions as necessitated by the composition of India's population and the play of political forces at such a centre. Surely, he can ask for many things other than the cutting up of India into two parts based on a medieval conception in order to attain this laudable desire.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya's arguments of dividing the baby and the parable of King Solomon have gone beyond the zenith of his intellectual powers. This analogy he wants to apply to our proposals. Surely, India is not the sole property of the Congress and if the real mother was to be discovered it would be the Dravidians and still further the aborigines. It would neither he the Aryan nor the Mussalmans. The Aryan claim to India is no better than that of the Mussalmans except that they were earlier arrivals in point of time.

What, however, is most astounding is Mr. Rajagopalacharya's talk when he says: 'Indeed, not even Tippu Sultan or Hyder Ali or Aurangzeb or Akbar, all of whom lived during days when differences seemed more deep-rooted than now, imagined that India was anything but one and indivisible. These great men might have differed from one another in many respects, but they agreed in looking upon this precious land and this great nation as one and essentially indivisible'. Yes, naturally they did so as conquerors and parental rulers. Is this the kind of government Mr. Rajagopalacharya does still envisage? And did the Hindus of those days willingly accept the rule of the 'great men'? I may or may not be suffering from a diseased mentality, but the statement of Mr. Rajagopalacharya and his criticism of the Lahore resolution indicate that in him there is no mind left at all. I hope he does not represent true Hindu opinion and I doubt very much whether he represents the opinion of the Congress or its high command so far as his statement on the Lahore resolution goes. (A.P.)

*QAP-File-930/p.6 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 2, 1940*

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## 358

### Reply to the Defence Secretary, New Delhi, April 8, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah who did not attend this evening's Defence meeting has sent the following reply to the Defence Secretary's invitation to the meeting :-

"I am in receipt of your letter of April 6, I believe that His Excellency the Defence Member must be aware of the negotiations that are going on between His Excellency the Viceroy and myself representing the All-India Muslim League,

and until the assurances asked for are definitely given and the basis of co-operation settled. I do not think I can take any part in the proposed meeting. I am sending you a phamphlet under separate cover for the information of His Excellency the Defence Member and your Department and it will give you full details of what the position is up-to-date."

The pamphlet contains the resolutions of the Muslim League on the war and the correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy.

*The Star of India, April 9,. 1940.*

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## 359

### Statement in reply to Mr. Ganadhi's articles in "Harijan", Bombay, April 11, 1940

"My attention has been drawn to the discourses of Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" in the week-end and I am really sorry to notice that is so full of contradictions that one cannot make out what he really wants or stands for. But his own analysis, as I read it, clearly proves that there are two nations in this country. Surely Mr. Gandhi must know by now that no honest Mussalman can subscribe to his cult and his conception of Indian culture. Mr. Gandhi begins his work by prayer and recital of Bhagut Gita. Mr. Gandhi believes in Ashrams and Samitis, Ahimsa, spinning wheel, khaddar, Bande Mataram, Sanskritised Hindi, Vidya Mandir and the Wardha Scheme. No mussalman can honestly subscribe to the cult and culture of this kind.

"Ramgarh was a foretaste of the renaissance of the Hinduism of Mr. Gandhi's conception. What was there else except the President and the prospective four members of the Working Committee which could be called Muslim?

"I know that Mr. Gandhi is very obstinate and difficult to move. Perhaps when the excitement is over or perhaps when later on in cooler and calmer moments he will appreciate what I have been urging. But Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in his speech at Salem as reported in the Press on April 7 said: "Mr. Jinnah's move for the partition of India was like two brothers cutting their own cow into two because they quarrelled over its possession."

"I am really pained that, occupying the position that he does, he should have held me up before the Hindu public as one who wants to cut the cow into two because of my proposal that independent states should be constituted in north-west and eastern zones of India.

"This could only be intended or undoubtedly is calculated to incite the highest passions of the Hindu community against me. It is a most wicked thing for a man like Mr. Rajgagopalachari, who occupies such a high position in the Congress hierarchy, to have resorted to such an analogy.

I have always had every respect for the Hindus as a community and for their religious feelings, sentiments and beliefs. In conclusion although I feel nothing will satisfy Mr. Gandhi except his own inner voice or until the man in the moon speaks. I think he will realise that the Lahore resolution was not only carried in the presence of over 50,000 Mussalmans as he says, but it truly and deliberately and definitely represents and reflects the firm opinion of Muslim India throughout the country. This will be proved. I hope, on April 19 in the same way as the "Deliverance Day" demonstrated the true feeling among the Muslims. (A.P.)

*QAP-File 1022/p.7 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 13, 1940*

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## 360

### Appeal to observe 19th April as the Muslim Independence Day, Bombay, April 15, 1940

"I feel confident that Muslims throughout India fully realise the paramount and vital importance of the resolution passed by the full session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on March 24, 1940. It was a red letter day in the future history of Muslim India and of the sub-continent of India. The Lahore resolution, after the fullest and most careful consideration, defines our goal in the clearest possible manner.

"It is to explain and conform this resolution that the Muslim League has fixed April 19, 1940: so that all provincial, district and primary Leagues should hold public meetings throughout the country to express their opinion so that no doubt should be left in the minds of anyone as to the verdict of Muslim India.

"I, therefore, appeal to every Muslim throughout India, with all the earnestness I can command, to observe April 19, 1940, as the Muslim Independence Day to confirm the declaration of Muslim self-determination.

"I feel that Muslim India is wholeheartedly with us and will not spare any effort to demonstrate to the world that we have, with all solemnity, set our goal in front of us and shall fight for it and are prepared for any and every sacrifice for its achievement and realisation."(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 16, 1940.*

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## 361

### Speech at a meeting of the donars of the Muslim League Press and Propaganda Fund, Bombay, May 6, 1940.

At a meeting of the donors of the Muslim League Press

and Propaganda Fund held at the Islam Club, Bombay, Mr. M. A. Jinnah was authorised to negotiate and complete the bargain for the purchase of a printing press. He was also authorised to use such amount as was necessary for the purpose.

Mr. Jinnah explained at the meeting that he had several schemes before him for starting a press.

A committee was appointed to prepare a list of Muslims who were likely to contribute to the fund and who had not been approached so far. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, May 7, 1940.*

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## 362

### Statement regarding Khaksars, Matheran, May 8, 1940.

"I have received numerous telegrams from influential persons from various parts of India — and in particular from the Punjab — during the last few days, urging me to go to Lahore at once and negotiate with the Punjab Government a settlement regarding the Khaksar trouble," says Mr. Jinnah in a statement. He continues:

"I wish to inform the public and the Muslim Leaguers specially that I have no authority or power given to me by the Khaksar organisation or those who are the leaders now and guiding the movement. I have spoken to many of them, who came to see me, but none can speak with authority or give me the authority to bring about a just and honourable settlement with the Government.

"The Muslim League at Lahore had to deal with the situation purely from the point of view and on the basis that Khaksars being a mainly Muslim organisation it was incumbent

upon us to see that, full justice was done to them and that the Punjab Government dealt with them fairly and justly. But the organisation has not so far cared to take the fullest advantage of our services as they have acted and are acting independently of the Muslim League.

"In order to refresh the public memory as to what the exact position was before the session of the Muslim League at Lahore, may I point out shortly that there were four questions raised"

"(1) The ban on Khaksar activities of a military and semi-military character which was already imposed upon them by the Punjab Government.

"(2) The defiance of this ban, which was going on:

"(3) The unfortunate clash between the Khaksar and the police, culminating in the firing upon them, which resulted in a terrible loss of life and injuries on March 19, 1940.

"(4) The order declaring the Khaksar organisation unlawful.

"The Muslim League session, by its resolution urged upon the Government to appoint an impartial and independent tribunal to inquire into the firing and the cause which led to the clash, which resulted in terrible bloodshed. That inquiry is going on. The Muslim League also called upon the Government to withdraw the order by which the Khaksar organisation was declared unlawful as soon as possible. In the meantime it was expected that the Khaksars would cease the defiance of the ban and observe peace to enable us to examine the terms of the ban, which was directed against their alleged military or semi-military activities.

"According to the declared creed of the Khaksars, it was urged and pointed out that their aims and objects were religious and social service, and hence any misunderstanding or

apprehension on the part of the Government should be removed. But after the Lahore resolution was passed, it was difficult to find any one on behalf of the Khaksars who could either control or guide their members and give me the requisite authority and power to negotiate with the Government. On the contrary, the defiance of law and order continued, and this has led to the situation getting from bad to worse.

"I must point out that the Khaksar organisation is entirely independent of the Muslim League and it has no connection with it. The Muslim League cannot do anything in the matter, as we have no control or supervision over the activities of the organisation, nor have we got any authority or power to speak on their behalf and come to a settlement which would be implemented or fully carried out and adhered to.

"In these circumstances, with all the sympathies for the Khaksar organisation, I feel helpless in the matter." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, May 10, 1940.*

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## 363

### Message to the Bombay Presidency Muslim Educational Conference, Hubli, Bombay, May 15, 1940.

"I am glad to hear that the Bombay Presidency Muslim Educational Conference is holding its 18th Session at Hubli on May 25.

"The right system of education is the foundation of a nation and the problem of Muslim education should be the foremost consideration of our leaders and the educationalists. It is only by exchange of views and discussions and deliberations, such as your proposed conference is intended for, that we may

be able to find the right solution. The Bombay Presidency Muslim Educational Conference has, in the past done useful work but now with the new life springing up and the rapid developments in the political field of India and fast changing social order, it is all the more incumbent upon the organisers of this conference to stimulate and shape the future problems that are facing us in the field of education generally, and in particular of the Muslims of Bombay Presidency.

"I wish your conference every success not only in its deliberations and discussions, but shall be looking forward to its adopting practical and concrete scheme which will give a lead to the Muslims of the Presidency and of India."

*The Star of India, June 1, 1940.*

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## 364

### Interview with the correspondent of "The Times of India" Matheran, May 18, 1940.

"I have read with great care the interview given by Mr. Gandhi to a representative of your paper and I must confess that I see in it no concrete or practical proposal. It is enigmatical.

"There are many points in that interview that need clarifying. Firstly, what does Mr. Gandhi mean when he says that he would welcome the settlement which would ensure peace with honour? Secondly, what does he mean about coming to terms with Britain on such matters as defence, and commercial interests? Thirdly, Mr. Gandhi suggests that the best Englishmen and the best Indians should hold a preliminary conference. But there are many conditions precedent. If, says Mr. Gandhi, the Viceroy is authorised to declare that His Majesty's Government have definitely come to the conclusion

that it is the sole right of India to determine the form of Government under which she would live, and *if* with that end in view he summons a conference of the best Englishmen and the best Indians — the latter elected according to an acceptable procedure — to devise a method whereby a constituent assembly can be summoned for the purpose of framing a constitution and for solving all problems that may arise — then he, Mr. Gandhi, would agree to the proposal. This raises three issues.

"Before such a conference could take place the Viceroy must be authorised to make the required declaration. Secondly, in such a conference how will the best Englishmen be chosen and by whom? Thirdly, the best Indians are to be elected 'according to an acceptable procedure.' Acceptable to whom? And elected by whom?

**Nebulous And Puzzling**

"Assuming that all these *ifs* and conditions can be fulfilled, the conference would devise a method whereby a constituent assembly can be summoned for the purpose of framing a constitution and for solving all problems that may arise. This is all so nebulous as to be thoroughly puzzling.

"The present ambition and policy of the Congress," said Mr. Jinnah, "are suggested by the words of a prominent Congressman":-

> (Should the international situation worsen appreciably, Britain will make a strong bid for Congress goodwill by trying to meet its demands, very much more than half way. "On his present showing, Jinnah will not be overpleased with this development and would in all probability resort to obstruction. Britain will then turn to her faithful friend Sikandar Hyat Khan. Perhaps the good offices and the powerful support of the Aga Khan would also be available. Nor would Fazlul Haq, the

Bengal Premier, be found unwilling. Jinnah would still be left a good enough following, but then will come to him the tragic realisation, how so many of the Khan Bahadurs and Knights and titled gentry who are now dancing, attendance on him, will drop away in an instant, at a sign from the British Government, whose creations they are. Jinnah would still be a notable factor, but only a factor, not the sole determinant. A Gandhi-Aga Khan Sikandar-Fazlul Huq understanding would have a more far reaching effect than the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Jinnah would either have to toe the line, or stand in haughty aloofness, unable to change the course of history).

"I am confident", added Mr. Jinnah, "that such a manoeuvre will never succeed, though it confirms the grave apprehensions of the Muslims and justifies their demand for a definite and categorical assurance from the British Government that no settlement shall be reached pending consideration of the future constitutional problems of India, and that no constitution shall be imposed upon them without their consent."

"With reference to the recent debate in the House of Commons," Mr. Jinnah said: "Mr. Wedgwood Benn, who presumably spoke on behalf of the Labour Party, summarily rejected the Lahore resolution. He thereby showed complete ignorance of the situation in this country. Such irresponsible pronouncements are calculated to shake the faith of the Muslims of India."

**Ready To Meet Mr. Gandhi**

Asked if he would be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi to get the points about the preliminary conference clarified. Mr. Jinnah said: "I have repeatedly expressed my desire to meet Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Hindus, as I believe him to be the one

man today who can deliver the goods. But let us tackle first things first. The most pressing need is a settlement between the Hindu and Muslim nations.

"I gather," said Mr. Jinnah, "from the interview Mr. Gandhi gave your paper that he is not prepared to use his personal influence to induce the Congress Ministers to return to office unless there is a Hindu-Muslim agreement. 'I should wait', said Mr. Gandhi. But why wait? Why not tackle the problem of a Hindu-Muslim agreement at once?"

Asked whether he thought that a preliminary conference was in principle a sound suggestion, Mr. Jinnah replied, "The failure of a hasty move for a conference would be worse than no conference at all."

Asked how the present deadlock could be removed unless a fresh attempt at negotiation was made. Mr. Jinnah said: "The Muslim League is not responsible for the deadlock. We were willing to consider the proposals made by the Viceroy* at Delhi at a meeting which took place on November 1, 1939, between Mr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Gandhi, the Viceroy and myself.

"Mr. Gandhi summarily dismissed those proposals."

*The Times of India, May 18, 1940.*

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* His Excellency the Viceroy's proposals at the Delhi meeting were that Congress and the Muslim League should enter upon discussions between themselves with a view to discovering whether they could reach a basis of agreement in the provincial field. If so, they should then let H.E. the Viceroy have proposals which would result in representatives of the two organizations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of the Executive Council (T.I.)

## 365

### Message to the Bombay Presidency Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Hubli, Matheran, May 25, 1940.

"I am extremely sorry that I am unable to attend the Bombay Presidency Provincial Muslim League Conference. Believe me I would have come if it were possible for me to do so. It may appear that I can easily come probably for a day and that I am shirking, but I hope you will accept when I say that there are very strong and cogent reasons that prevent me at this moment to undertake the journey. However, my entire heart and soul is with you. I wish the conference every success most sincerely and from the bottom of my heart.

"I am grateful to the organisers and to the people for their desire to see me participate in the conference. I thank them for their kind regard and affection for me, but I feel confident that under the guidance and affection for me, but I feel confident that under the guidance and presidentship of the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and other prominent leaders who are going to participate in the deliberations of the conference it will be great success.

"Let me say a few words to the Mussalmans of Southern Division. The All-India Muslim League has given the Mussalmans of India the correct lead. It has given them a flag, a platform, a policy and a well-considered programme, and finally it has defined the ideal and the true goal for Muslim India, by its resolution at Lahore last March, to fight for and achieve it at any sacrifice, for therein lies their true salvation.

"I am asked, will the British agree to the basic and fundamental principles of the Lahore resolution, namely, to create independent Muslim states in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India? Whether they agree or whether they do not, we shall fight for it to the last ditch. I know that the British

politicians, press and public are still holding on to the conception of unity and one India; but I am convinced that it is a self-deception and complete ignorance of reality. At the same time I am confident that when we have successfully dispelled the false propaganda and removed the delusion under which the British public are suffering, they, with their sense of sagacity, and the British politicians and Government, who are capable of handling big issues in a statesmanlike manner, will not fail to meet us; and they are sufficiently versatile to grasp the issues. If Muslim India is united and determined and carries on a vigorous propaganda to dispel the misconceptions that have been sedulously created so far, were bound to succeed.

"The conception of unity that the Congress High Command are preaching and hanging on to is due to unworthy selfishness and is based on mean strategy. It is calculated and rests on the hope of exploitation of British ignorance of Indian condition and, in fact, they look to the British arms for the realisation and establishment of the Hindu raj in this country; but it is unthinkable that the British arms can ever be placed at the disposal of the Congress High Command to dominate Muslim India. This attempt at gamble on the part of the Congress is bound to fail and their hopes and aspirations in this direction have already been, to a certain extent, frustrated.

"It is amazing that men like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalacharya should talk about the Lahore resolution in such terms as "vivisection of India" and "cutting the baby into two halves". Surely today India is divided and partitioned by nature. Muslim India and Hindu India exist on the physical map of India. I fail to see why there is this hue and cry. Where is the country which is being divided? Where is the nation which is denationalised? India is composed of nationalities, to say nothing about the castes and sub-castes. Where is 'the Central National Government' whose authority is being violated?

"India is held by the British power and that is the hand

that holds and gives the impression of united India and the unitary Government. Indian nation and central government do not exist. It is only the convenient imagination of the Congress High Command. It is a pure intellectual and mental luxury, in which some of the Hindu leaders have been indulging so recklessly.

"We are told that our demand is the quintessence of communalism. Why? Because we propose that the Hindus and Mussalmans should be provided with their homelands which will enable them to live side by side as two honourable nations, and as good neighbours; and not Hindus as superior and Mussalmans as inferior nations, tied artificially together with a Hindu religious majority to dominate and rule over the Muslim India.

"We are told next that we may develop extra-territorial affinity. Surely, when we have constituted our national homelands and developed our territorial sovereign government it is unthinkable that we shall not guard our frontiers, just as in the Middle East exist territorial Muslim states side by side. Next we are told that the scheme is impracticable; but the autonomous provinces are in existence even under the present constitution, where the Mussalmans and the Hindus dominate respectively. Their reconstitution into geographical, contiguous, homogeneous, independent zones is a most feasible and practicable scheme provided it is honestly examined. But this agreement can only emanate with the one and the only motive and desire on the part of the Congress, to coerce the Muslim India to submit to a central government with the Hindu majority and Hindu rule throughout the country. Our proposal is more practical than 'ahimsa' and 'charkha', or, for the matter of that, the ideal of Ram Raj or Swaraj and complete independence of Mr. Gandhi's conception.

"Further, it is not detrimental either to the Hindu or Muslim interests generally, and so far as the minorities are

concerned in the respective zones they will be given safeguards which will be effective, adequate and mandatory. It is the only practical solution of not only communal but political problems confronting us. Both the nations would be in a position then to enjoy equal status, rights and privileges, free to develop their spiritual, economic, social and political life according to their own sentiments, culture, conditions and genius.

"Lastly, it has been said that it is not in the interest of the Mussalmans themselves. Surely, that must be left to the self-determination of Muslim India. It is the same old hackneyed argument that our rulers have often advanced when all else has failed them, whenever we have pressed our demands. It does not come with any grace from the Congress High Command or the Congress press.

Why talk of the civil war in connection with the League resolution? It is highly mischievous. There will be no conflict and should be no conflict unless the Congress desires it. There can be no chaos and confusion unless Mr. Gandhi uses all his forces of non-violent methods to obstruct the achievement of the Muslim ideal. Our ideal presupposes Indian freedom and independence; and we shall achieve India's independence far more quickly by agreeing to the underlined principles of the Lahore resolution than by any other method.

"In his latest article which appeared in the press on the 19th of May, Mr. Gandhi says, "Should it happen otherwise and partition becomes the fashion, either we shall have partition or partitions rather than foreign rule, or we shall continue to wrangle among ourselves and submit to foreign rule, or else have a proper civil war." It is quite clear from this that Mr. Gandhi understands or ought to understand that to wrangle over the imaginary one and united India can only result in our submission to foreign rule. I pray that Mr. Gandhi's prophecy of the 'proper civil war' will not come, but the better minds of Hindus and Mussalmans will come round to the only alternative

embodied in the Lahore resolution.

"In conclusion, I appeal to the conference to organise the Mussalmans and prepare ourselves by creating complete harmony and unity amongst us, so that we may be ready to face any emergency, as and when it may arise.

"The issues involve the future fate and destiny of ninety millions of Mussalmans and I am sure that Muslim India today is fully alive to the gravity of the situation both internal and external that is facing us. Our ideal and our fight is not to harm or injure any other community or interest or block the progress but to defend ourselves. We want to live in this country an honourable life as free men, and we stand for free Islam and free India."

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## 366

### Statement in Reply to the Viceroy's Appeal, Matheran, May 27, 1940.

"I fully realise that both the internal situation and the external situation are very grave. The question is, what is the Muslim League expected to do immediately? Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty, nor have we embarrassed the British government in the prosecution of the war. The provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government pending their consideration with regard to the assurance we have asked for and in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

**Honourable Adjustment**

"Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law. But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency in early February which met the same fate. Since then, it seems, the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

"There are many people who have access to the press who find it convenient to say 'plague on both our houses' and are either ignorant of the actual facts and the position or are afraid to speak out frankly and find it easy to beat the Muslim League and the Congress with the same stick.

**No Direct Action**

"So far we have not declared non-co-operation, nor have we decided to resort to direct action, nor are we preparing to launch civil disobedience at any moment, although we are fully alive to the objective of the Congress, which is to force the British hand to throw Muslim India once more to the tender mercies of the Congress.

"This is what Mr. Satyamurti, the deputy leader of the Congress party in the Central Legislature, says: 'Popular Governments must come both in the provinces and the centre. The earlier the better. The acid test of Mr. Amery's ability and earnestness will be his saying to the Muslim Leaguers – no Pakistan, no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards. You must settle with the majorities. Once having said that, the rest will be easy.'

"I think the British Government must realise that it is the resistance of the Muslim League to the machinations of the Congress that has compelled the Congress leaders at this moment to make a virtue of necessity when they say that they do not want to embarrass the British Government and launch civil disobedience immediately, but to keep the sword of Damocles hanging over Muslim India.

**Trust In Muslim Leadership**

"With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership – and there are many ways of doing so – and, as confident friends, seek our whole-hearted co-operation and we shall not fail.

"I propose to call a meeting of the Working Committee at Bombay before the middle of June or earlier, if possible, when the whole situation will be reviewed and considered in the light of the grave situation that we are facing. (A.P.)

*QAP.File 1022/261 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, May 29, 1940.*

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## 367

### Statement regarding Viceroy's announcement to set up War Committees, Bombay, June 10, 1940

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has issued the following statement:-

"The Viceroy's announcement published on June 5 to set up War Committees and the consequent efforts that are being made by the Provincial Governors in the various provinces in that direction have brought to me many enquiries from

various prominent Muslim Leaguers and branches of the Muslim League in different parts of India.

"In the first instance, the Muslim League was not consulted with regard to these measures. Secondly we do not yet have the exact scheme and its full details before us and thirdly, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League is meeting on June 15 in Bombay when this question, along with many other issues, will be considered.

"In these circumstances, I hope no Muslim Leaguer will commit himself and I trust by that time we may be able to know the exact details and implications of the proposals embodied in the Viceroy's announcement." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, June 10, 1940.*

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## 368

### Statement regarding War Committees, Bombay, June 18, 1940.

"With reference to the interview given by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to the Associated Press, and quoted by the radio, stating that Punjab and Bengal are exempted from the resolution asking the Muslims not to join the War Committees, it is unbelievable and I cannot imagine how Sir Sikander Hyat Khan could have said it.

"In order to stop the mischief that might be created by such a report. I wish to make it quite clear that the resolution of the All-India Muslim League makes no exception of any kind whatsoever and has in the clearest language appealed to the Muslims not to join the War Committees until further instructions from the President and pending the result of the communication with His Excellency the Viceroy. I hope that the

Muslim Leaguers and Muslims generally will fully comply with the appeal."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, June 19, 1940.*

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## 369

### Interview to the representative of the 'Hindustan Times' while travelling in the train to Delhi, June 26, 1940.

Interviewed by a representative of the *Hindustan Times* in the train, Mr. Jinnah said that he would meet the Viceroy in the afternoon of Thursday. He could not say whether he would call a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League after his interview with the Viceroy.

Asked whether he contemplated action against Muslim Leaguers who have accepted membership of the War Committee in violation of the Muslim League Working Committee's resolution. Mr. Jinnah remarked that he wanted to do many things, but he would not tell anything about them. He admitted having received a letter from the President of the Bihar Muslim League requesting him to take disciplinary action against the Punjab and Bengal Premiers for flouting the League resolution.

*The Hindustan Times, June 28, 1940.*

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## 370

### Reply to an address of welcome presented to him at the Beadon Club, Delhi, June 26, 1940.

Replying, Mr. Jinnah expressed his thanks for the assurance of support and preparedness for sacrifice given to him,

which had heartened him.

Referring to his impending interview with the Viceroy, Mr. Jinnah said that he could not speculate on its possible outcome. He, however, wanted to avail himself of the opportunity for appealing to them to carry out the two resolutions passed at the Muslim League Working Committee's meeting at Bombay, which were absolutely clear in their meaning. The first resolution asked them not to join the War Committee till the League Working Committee ordered otherwise. The second resolution, which was also clear, asked them to form the National Muslim Guard.

Mr. Jinnah thought that the establishment of the Muslim National Guard was essential for the safety of the Mussalmans. He felt that he could not sufficiently emphasize the necessity for the establishment of the Muslim National Guard, in view of the precarious internal and external situation. They were passing through dangerous times. It was the duty of every one of them to help in the formation of the Muslim National Guard. The League resolution on this question must be implemented. He expressed the hope that the Mussalmans of Delhi would establish the National Guard in Delhi without any loss of time. They could not do better service of the Muslims.

*The Hindustan Times, June 28, 1940.*

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## 371

### Statement regarding Khaksars, Simla, June 28, 1940.

An appeal to the Khaksar Leaders to put their heads together and enable him with authority to serve them, he would be prepared to do all he can to find an honourable solution is made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim

League, in a statement to the Press.

Mr. Jinnah says: "I have received a number of letters and was personally pressed by the Muslim public on my way to Simla from Bombay to intervene in the Punjab Government - Khaksar trouble. Their is also an impression amongst the Muslim public and the rank and file of Khaksars that the All-India Muslim League is not doing anything in this matter.

"I may reiterate that it is the declared policy of the All-India Muslim League to do all it can to help the Mussalmans wherever they may be and see that justice is done to them. I personally have not concealed my sympathy with the Khaksars generally and I will like to repeat that if the Khaksar leaders put their heads together and enable me with authority to serve them and follow my advice, I shall be prepared to do all I can to find an honourable solution of the present impasse." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, June 29, 1940.*

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## 372

### Statement regarding the War Committees, Simla, June 28, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press:

"I am very happy that Muslim India has whole-heartedly responded to the appeal of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and Mussalmans have refrained from joining the so-called war committees, pending the communication between myself and the Viceroy, and further instructions from me.

"Unfortunately, however, there are a few especially in

the Punjab and Bengal, who have joined these committees. With some of them I am already in communication, but I once again request them to withdraw without delay from these committees because their attitude is not only undermining the fundamental considerations of discipline amongst us, but they are doing great harm to the very cause we all have at heart. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, June 29, 1940.*

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## 373

### Statement regarding protection of Harijans' interests by the League, Simla, June 30, 1940.

Mr. P.N. Rajbhoj, a Harijan leader, had an interview with Mr. Jinnah at Simla and discused with him problems relating to Harijans.

It is learned that Mr. Jinnah told him that it was a cardinal principle of the Muslim League to see that the rights and interests of Harijans and all other minorities were adequately and effectively safeguarded. "I shall not fail to protect their interests in the future," declared Mr. Jinnah.

*The Star of India, July 1, 1940.*

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## 374

### Statement before leaving Simla, July 1, 1940.

Before leaving Simla, Mr. Jinnah said to a Press representative: "I think the people understand that while the talks are continuing it is obvious that nothing could be disclosed. I would only say this that the public must wait and there is

always hope. So let us hope for the best."

"Are you coming back to Simla again?" He was asked.

"I cannot tell you that", Mr. Jinnah replied. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, July 2, 1940.*

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## 375

### Interview to the Associated Press regarding the authority of the Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal, Bombay, July 8, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah said that he was still quite unable to discuss any aspect of the present political situation but as regards the meeting which the Punjab and Bengal Premiers had with Congress leaders at Delhi, he said that the Premiers had no authority or permission to discuss or to come to any adjustment over the head of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. He had not given any permission to either of them to do so regarding a Hindu-Muslim settlement.

In an exchange of telegrams between Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Mr. Jinnah the former hoped that there would be no objection to his meeting Mr. Savarkar and to his conferring with Congress Leaders.

Mr. Jinnah replied that he could not agree to Sir Sikander seeing Mr. Savarkar as a go-between Sir Sikander might see the Congress Leaders regarding the Punjab situation as Premier of the Punjab.

Mr. Jinnah enjoined Sir Sikander to adhere to the Working Committee resolution. Hindu leaders were welcome to see Mr. Jinnah regarding the Hindu-Muslim question. (A.P.)

*QAP-File-1022 &*

*The Civil & Military Gazette, July 10, 1940.*

## 376

### Statement on Congress Resolution, Bombay, July 9, 1940.

In the course of an interview, commenting on the Congress Working Committee's resolution, Mr. Jinnah said: "Mr. Gandhi came to Simla to dictate and not to negotiate, and so is the Congress attitude as demonstrated by the Delhi resolution."

He added that their demand for a so-called National Government meant a Congress raj. "The word national" has been flagrantly abused. The nation does not exist in India any more than in Europe and America. If their demand is met, it will mean a Hindu majority Government — a permanent Hindu majority Government — a position which will never be accepted by Muslims. The Muslim League now firmly stands convinced that the only solution is a division of India as laid down by the Muslim League at Lahore."

Mr. Jinnah denied the rumours that there was likely to be a split in the League ranks on account of the ban imposed on its members joining the War Committees. "There is no ground for this rumour," he said, "which is being set in motion by the enemies of the League. I know that some members of the bureaucracy have tried to put pressure on the Muslim Leaguers, and by some seasoned loyalists also not to carry out the instructions according to the resolution of the Working Committee. "They are making a very grat mistake in making these efforts and trying to deflect Muslim Leaguers."

Mr. Jinnah added that the ban stood pending the result of negotiations and the talks that were going on between him and His Excellency the Viceroy. The League resolution clearly showed for co-operation, yes, but as equals in the authority and control of the government at the Centre and the provinces.

(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, July 11, 1940.*

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## 377

### Statement releasing telegrams exchanged between him and the Congress President, Bombay, July 12, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has released to the Press the following telegrams exchanged between him and the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad:-

From Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to Mr. Jinnah — "Confidential. Your July 9 statement, Congress Delhi resolution definitely means by National Government a composite Cabinet not limited to any single party. But is it position of League that she cannot agree to any provisional arrangement not based on two-nations scheme? If so please clarify by wire."

**Mr. Jinnah's Reply**

Mr. Jinnah's reply — "Your telegram. Cannot reciprocate confidence, I refuse to discuss with you by correspondence or otherwise as you have completely forfeited the confidence of Muslim India....Cannot you realize you are made a Muslim show-boy Congress President to give it colour that it is national and to deceive foreign countries? You present neither Muslims nor Hindus. The Congress is a Hindu body. If you have done your worst body. If you have self-respect resign at once. You have done your worst you have hopelessly failed. Give it up." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, July 13, 1940.*

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## 378

### Message to the Students of Islamia College Peshawar, Bombay, July 30, 1940.

"Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty," says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of a message to the students of Islamia College, Peshawar.

He says: "I was in Peshawar in September – October 1936. It was my first visit and I visited Peshawar Islamia College and then had the honour and privilege of addressing the students of the institution. I carried with me an impression that your college was an unique and remarkable institution."

"You ask me to tell you how you should make yourself useful citizens. My advice to you is that you should observe and maintain the highest sense of honour and integrity, and serve your people selflessly in every way you can. Make your people self-respecting, self-confident, and self-reliant."

"To-day your province is in the grip of outside influences and internal divisions and it is an irony of fate that those who opposed the progress and constitutional advance of your Province, are still able to exercise sufficient influence and prevent the creation of a solidarity of Muslims in your Province.

"Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty. You, my young friends, should show the way by your own example, lead your province and go forward united on a single platform under one flag and speak with one voice.

"I wish you God speed." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, August 3, 1940.*

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## 379

### Correspondence to solve Khaksar Dispute, Bombay, August 8, 1940

Mr. Jinnah is understood to have informed Dr. Muhammad Ismail Nami that he drew the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the position of the Khaksars in the Punjab and requested him to take up the matter. Following the receipt of a reply from His Excellency, Mr. Jinnah has advised the Khaksar leader to get in touch with the Punjab Premier to ascertain the conditions on which the order declaring the Khaksars as an unlawful assocation could be revoked.

*The Star of India, August 9, 1940.*

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## 380

### Interview to the Press on his first reaction to the Viceroy's Statement, Bombay, August 8, 1940.

Muslim India's first reaction to the viceroy's statement on the constitutional issue is now available and the Muslim League Working Committee will be considering the statement shortly.

Mr. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League interviewed at Bombay said that he proposed to call a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League as soon as feasible. He added that until then he did not wish to express any view of his own in anticipation of the decision of the Working Committee.

*The Star of India, August 9, 1940.*

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## 381

### Statement after meeting Punjab Deputation in connection with War Committees, Bombay, August 10, 1940.

"I have heard the deputation of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League headed by Nawab Saheb of Mamdot his colleagues Raja Ghazanfar Ali and Mr. Mohammed Ali Jafri. All that they had to urge has been very carefully considered by me. I have come to the conclusion that there is no ground for making any exception in the case of Punjab, with regard to the ban imposed upon the Muslim Leaguers not to associate themselves with the War Committees pending the result of the negotiations between the Viceroy and me. According to the resolution of the Working Committee I can only issue fresh instructions after the result of the negotiations, and the negotiations are stilling pending.

I therefore request the Nawab Saheb of Mamdot as the leader of the Deputation and as the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to abide by the resolution of the Working Committee of the 17th June at Bombay, and resign from the War Committees forthwith the convey to the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League my reply and to request every Muslim Leaguer likewise to resign forthwith pending the negotiations.

Their compliance with my request immediately will add to the prestige of the All-India Muslim League and show solidarity and discipline amongst the Mussalmans all over India and is bound to advance the cause for which we are fighting and the grave issues involved." (A.P.)

*The Bombay Chronicle, August 11, 1940.*

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## 382

### Statement after meeting the Viceroy, Bombay, August 12, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, met His Excellency the Viceroy at 3 p.m. this afternoon.

The interview which was by invitation lasted for about three quarters of an hour.

Mr. Jinnah has sent a telegram to Nawab Liaqat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League asking him to adjourn the meeting of the League Working Committee fixed for August 17 till further intimation.

Mr. Jinnah states: "Full details and a complete picture on the latest proposals of His Majesty's Government are not yet available as I expected to get them in my interview to-day with the Viceroy. In the circumstances, please adjourn the Working Committee meeting fixed for August 1 till further intimation. Kindly telegraphically inform all members." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, August 13, 1940.*

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## 383

### Statement on League's Ban on War Efforts and the States, Bombay, August 14, 1940.

"It has been given out in the press that some of the Sate Muslim Leagues are associating with the war efforts of their respective Rulers. In order that no misunderstanding should be created, I want to make it clear that the ban imposed upon the Muslim Leaguers by the resolution of the Working Committee of June 1, at Bombay, does not apply to them.

"Some of them have written and asked me about my views and I have intimated to them that as they are not affiliated in any way to All India Muslim League Organisation, which is purely confined to British India, nor can they be affiliated under the present constitution of the All-India Muslim League.

"They were free to adopt such course as they may think advisable in their interest as the subjects of their respective States." (A.P.)

*The Morning Standard, August 15, 1940.*

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## 384

### Address to the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, Bombay, September 1, 1940.

The Viceregal declaration and Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons with regard to the immediate future of the Indian Constitution was subjected to further discussion by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League.

At to-day's meeting, Mr. Jinnah, it is understood, addressed the Committee at length pointing out certain ambiguities from the League's point of view, in the Viceregal declaration.

Mr. Jinnah explained at length to the Committee what transpired at his two interviews with His Excellency the Viceroy in Bombay during the latter's visit to this city. He also informed the Committee the points on which he sought clarification. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, September 2, 1940.*

## 385

### Interview to a representative of the Press, Bombay, September 3, 1940.

"If the British Government courageously give India's ninety million Muslims immediate promise that after war it will support division of India into two states Muslim and Hindu. Muslims to man will sacrifice everything for prosecution of this war, said Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President All-India Muslim League in an exclusive interview at Bombay. "In two zones Northwest and East there live most Indias Muslims. Let's have those as independent Muslim state, Hindus can have rest. Thus we can live as good neighbours with Hindus and Muslims each governing their own states according to their own traditions culture special requirements. This scheme will enable Hindus and Muslims achieve their independence and keep it. Instead accepting this practical solution Congress presently indulging threat of civil war and even now keeping sword of civil disobedience over Britains head. Congress is a Hindu body and their objective is Hindu domination India cumsanction permanent religious sectarian majority which will enable them to keep Muslims permanently under their yoke working to Hindus' will. But even if British Govt. don't feel inclined to support partition scheme now they can yet win full Muslim support by negotiation with Muslim League not as master to servant but as partners. We fully realise its as much Indias interests as Britains to defend India and prosecute war against Nazis but average Muslim cannot be enthusiastic if he is treated partronisingly. Argument — If Britain loses, India will come under tyranny Germany Russia or Japan does not convince average Indian who answers. British Government must eventually face fact Muslim India determined standby partition scheme which presupposes Indias independence excontrol interference His Majesty's Government but does not out rule continuation relations with Great Britain after necessary

adjustments."

*QAP-F-1022-p.225.*

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## 386

### Statement to the Press regarding League deputation, September 6, 1940

It has been decided that a deputation consisting of Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Hasan Ispahani, M.L.A. of Calcutta, Maulana Jamal Mian Firangimahali, of Lucknow, Raja of Pirpur, M.L.A., U.P. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, M.L.C. of Bombay, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, M.L.A. Central (C.P.) should tour, to begin with, in the two provinces, Bihar and U.P., in order to explain to the public particularly the Mussalmans that the only solution of the problem of India's future constitution lies in the division of India, popularly known as "Pakistan", as laid down in the Resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed at Lahore, last March; and further to explain the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay on the 2nd September 1940, particularly with regarding to the strengthening and organising the Muslim National Guards. The deputation will meet at Patna on the 19th September, 1940 and the President hopes that all Muslim League organisations, Provincial and District throughout these Provinces will make all arrangements for them to help their important mission. They are expected to reach Aligarh on or before the 28th of September when the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League will meet and make their report to the President.

*QAP-F-1022/p.254.*

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## 387

### Statement contradicting "Ajmal's story," Bombay, September 7, 1940

Mr. M. A. Jinnah informs the editor of *Bombay Chronical*. "My attention has been drawn to the account of the Working Committee, as you say, according to the special correspondent of the daily *Ajmal* appearing in the "*Bombay Chronical*" on Saturday under the heading "Sir Sikandar Versus Jinnah."

"I beg to inform you that the report is mischievous and untrue and I regret that your paper should have thought fit to give it publicity.

"I hope that you will show me the courtesy to publish this contradiction and oblige."

*The Bombay Chronicle, September 8, 1940.*

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## 388

### Message to "Hamdard" Urdu Daily, September 9, 1940.

"I am glad to note that "*Hamdard*" Urdu daily published at Madras, is rendering very useful service to the Muslim cause. The Mussalmans and the Muslim League are in great need of Press and publicity. At such a time the service that is being rendered by the "*Hamdard*" in support of the Muslim League policy is useful. It is a matter of satisfaction that Mr. Syed Sutlan Mohiddeen Bahmany, under whose direction this paper is published is now working whole heartedly for the Muslim League. I trust that the paper will meet with success under his

direction and receive the support of the Muslim Community."

*QAP-F-1009/p.95*

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## 389

**Statement on settlement between Khaksars and the Punjab Government, Bombay, September 6 1940.**

"To me who has taken some part in bringing about an honourable solution of the dispute between the Khaksars and the Punjab Government, it is a matter of satisfaction that the Punjab Government and the Khaksar leaders have come to a settlement.

"I have every hope that the Punjab Government will now deal with the Khaksars in a generous and friendly manner, particularly with regard to the cases of those who have suffered and who are now undergoing sentences of imprisonment." (A.P.)

*AFM/KU/QA/Clip9/p.26-B.*

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## 390

**Message to the Muslims of Hyderabad, Bombay, September 22, 1940.**

"Muslim India is at the threshold of a momentous political advancement and changes. I have no doubt that the Muslims of Hyderabad will play their full part worthy of their great history and heritage as they occupy a unique position in Southern India.

"I appeal to you to stand united and organise yourself and take your right place in the future new order of things which is bound to come."

*This message was sent by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the Majlis-Ittihad-ul-Muslimin (State Muslim Organisation)."*

*The Star of India, September 30, 1940.*

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## 391

### Statement regarding his interview with the Viceroy, Simla, September 24, 1940.

"To a question put by Pressmen this evening, he replied that he did not at present think it likely that he would see the Viceroy again before he left.

Mr. Jinnah, it is learnt, will place the results of to-day's interview before the meeting of the League Working Committee at Delhi on Saturday, September 28.

*The Star of India, September 25, 1940.*

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## 392

### Speech at the session of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, New Delhi, September 29, 1940.

"The British Government appear to have no intention to part with power. In making the present offer they were triffling with ninety millions of Muslims who are a nation. "The long-drawn-out negotiations which the Viceroy has been carrying on with the various parties lead to only one conclusion, namely, that the British still wish to continue the relationship of master and servant. We will not submit to this position."

*These observations were made by Mr. Muhammad Ali*

*Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a lengthy statement he made before the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League this morning.*

At the outset Sir Ziauddin suggested to the President that he should tell the House what had passed between him and the Viceroy and give a general background to the resolution to enable the members to cast their votes correctly.

Mr. Jinnah said that he would willingly place the full correspondence that had passed between him and the Viceroy before the Council to enable members to correctly apprise the situation.

**Mr. Jinnah's Speech**

Mr. Jinnah said that Muslims were fully alive to the dangers created by the war. They were anxious to render all possible assistance to the Government in the prosecution of the war. At the same time, they were convinced that in order that their assistance may be of real value and be effective the Muslim League must be placed in a position of authority in the Government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

After referring to his correspondence with the Viceroy, which, he said, would be released to the Press to-day Mr. Jinnah said that after prolonged negotiation the Government had accepted the principle that they were willing to associate the League representatives in the Government at the Centre, but not in the Congress Provinces. Then, again, the Viceroy had not been able to tell him finally what would be the constitution, composition and function of the War Advisory Board beyond that its membership would be in the neighbourhood of twenty of which five would be Muslims.

**"A Travesty"**

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said "The Viceroy's offer when boded down, comes to this. Two seats on the Governor General's

Executive Council will be allotted to the nominees of the Muslim League out of a number we do not know yet. In his first letter to me, the Viceroy had indicated that number of members of the expanded Executive Council would be in the neighbourhood of eleven. The word neighbourhood by itself was an elastic one. In the latest letter to me the Viceroy says that the number has not yet been determined and even the elastic term "neighbourhood" has disappeared. Then again, we do not know who are the other parties who have been invited to send in their nominees for inclusion in the Viceroy's Council.

"If we wanted jobs for two of our men, we could have straightaway nominated our representatives, it would have been a very happy arrangement but would it have been a real share in power even at the Centre? No. The offer is a travesty of giving us a real share in authority. Therefore, even if we knew what other parties were coming in, there was another very vital question requiring solution.

**Vital Question**

"Supposing some party which kept itself out for the present, subsequently decided to come in — and we would be happy if they did so — it would then be probable that the personnel of the Executive Council might further be increased. And if the Executive Council were to be reshuffled, what would then be the position of the Muslim League?

"I referred this matter to the Viceroy in my last interview with him on September 24. I then urged that in the event of any party now refusing co-opereation, subsequently coming in, it should only be allowed to do so in agreement with the parties already represented on the Council. I had no satisfactory reply from the Viceroy. This is the whole story of negotiations.

"I may reiterate that all along I had not forgotten that we

are also in danger, that we are vitally concerned, that our fate is linked with that of the British. This is why I pitched my demands at the lowest limit, but I could not go lower."

**Muslims' Position**

Mr. Jinnah added that the position of the Muslim League considerably differed from those of the other parties. In its case the question of non-co-operation did not arise for the present. It was essential for them to give all support for intensifying the war effort in the defence of India. It was in their interest. But while they had the desire to help, there were certain fundamental requisites which required fulfillment to order to secure the whole-hearted co-operation of the Muslims.

Earlier in his speech, Mr. Jinnah referred to the demand of the League that the Constitution of 1935 should be examined "*de novo*," and said that that demand had practically been met by the British Government as was evident from the statements of the Viceroy and of Mr. Amery. That however, was a matter for the future. In the immediate present the Muslims of India were prepared to shed the last drop of their blood and part with their last penny to assist Great Britain in the present war. In short, they were prepared to sink or swim with Great Britain. It was however, a war contract.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan: Without prejudice?

Mr. Jinnah: "Yes, without prejudice to the future problems of the Indian Constitution and to the major and fundamental issues."

**Pakistan Scheme**

Replying to a question as to what the Muslim League had done to implement the Lahore resolution on the Pakistan Scheme. Mr. Jinnah referred to a recent statement of Dr. Moonje, made in Bombay in which he was reported to have been told by the Viceroy that the Pakistan Scheme could not be ruled

out at the time when the future Constitution for India was being considered.

Mr. Jinnah also referred to his memorandum of July 1, in which he had demanded from the Viceroy that no declaration should be made on behalf of His Majesty's Government which was likely to militate against the basic principles incorporated in the Lahore resolution.

Replying to Sir Raza Ali, Mr. Jinnah explained that in his interview with the Viceroy he had clarified the position of the Muslim League "vis-a-vis" the other parties.

He had told the Viceroy that the Muslim representation should be equal to that of the Hindus, if the Congress came in otherwise, they should have the majority of additional seats as it was obvious that in that case the main burden and the responsibilities would be borne by Muslims.

**No Amendments**

Maulana Hasrat Mohani though in favour of the resolution, sought to move an amendment to the Working Committee's resolution because, he said, the grounds specified for the rejection of the Viceroy's offer were not adequate.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Maulana or any other speaker could specify any further grounds in support of the resolution, but it was not open to the House to move amendments to the Working Committee's resolution. They were to accept it or reject it as a whole.

He, however, pointed out that in the present circumstances rejection of the resolution would be tantamount to a vote of no-confidence in the Working Committee. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, September 30, 1940.*

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## 393

### Statement releasing his correspondence with the Viceroy, New Delhi, September 29, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has released to the Press the correspondence that has passed between him and His Excellency the Viceroy:

*Letter from Mr. Jinnah, dated New Delhi, February 6, 1940.*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am herewith sending a copy of the Working Committee's resolution passed on the 3rd of February, 1940, regarding the correspondence that has passed between your Excellency and myself for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) M. A. JINNAH.

(Enclosure 1) Resolution:

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Jinnah, the President, and His Excellency the Viceroy, ending with his final reply, dated 23rd December 1939. The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation. The Committee, therefore, empowers the President to place the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee, dated 18th September and 22nd October 1939, and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India.

*Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated New Delhi, February 23, 1940.*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I placed the whole correspondence that had passed between Your Excellency and myself, ending with your letter dated the 23rd of December 1939, before the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on the 3rd of February, 1940.

The Working Committee, after very careful consideration, passed a resolution, a copy of the text of which I have already sent to Your Excellency with a covering letter, dated the 6th of February. As was desired by Your Excellency in our conversation on the 6th instant, I now beg to state briefly the views of the Working Committee which are as follows :-

The Working Committee appreciate the clarification made by Your Excellency regarding the first point and are glad to note that the declaration made by Your Excellency, with the approval of His Majesty's Government on 18th October, 1939, does not exclude the examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or the policy and plans on which it is based.

As regards the second point, the Working Committee do not feel satisfied as the request made for a definite assurance has not been met namely that no declaration should, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enforced by His Majesty's Government or enacted by Parliament without the approval and consent of the Mussalmans of India. We recognise Your Excellency's assurances when you state "His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim Community to the stability and success of any constitutional development in India. You need therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views, will be underrated." But I regret to say, this does not meet the point raised by the Muslim League, because it still leaves the position of the ninety million Mussalmans of India only in the

region of consultation and counsel, and vests the final decision in the hands of Great Britain to determine the fate and future of Muslim India. We regret that we cannot accept this position.

As to the policy for Palestine, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League wish to impress upon His Majesty's Government that a solution should be found to the satisfaction of the Arabs. The Committee are glad to note, as Your Excellency states, that His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and they continue to be fully alive to that issue. But the eyes of the Muslim world are watching the situation keenly and a definite solution should be found without delay.

With regard to the use of Indian troops against any Muslim Power or country, the Committee feel that Your Excellency has misunderstood the position. When we asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim Power or country it was not intended that they shall not be used for the defence of the country in case of an attack on, or aggression against India. While we thank Your Excellency for informing us that every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India, to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected, we feel that further clarification of the position is necessary.

It is required of the Muslim League to give assurance of wholehearted co-operation and active support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war. The Committee are of opinion that before doing that they must feel confident that the future of the Mussalmans of India is not left in the region of uncertainty or doubtful possibility. Consequently we do not consider it unreasonable on our part to ask for a definite assurance that no commitment will be made with regard to the future constitution

of India or any interim settlement with any other party without our approval and consent. If His Majesty's Government are prepared to treat the leadership of the Mussalmans as a responsible body, then they must be trusted, especially where the question of determining their own future is concerned.

We are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over-anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire unjustly to harm any community. To issues that have been raised by us are due to apprehensions that the British Government may be stampeded by other powerful organisations in the country into adopting a course or agreeing to a settlement in the matter of India's constitution which may prove not only highly detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans, but may be disastrous for them.

As regards Palestine and the use of Indian troops, our demands, as explained by me above, cannot in any way prejudice the interests of any other community. It is not possible in a letter of this kind to state fully the various reasons and details; but, if Your Excellency so desires, I shall be very glad to place the views of the Committee before you in fuller details at an early date, whenever Your Excellency finds it convenient.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) M. A.JINNAH.

*H.E. The Viceroy's letter dated, February 28, 1940 from New Delhi.*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to acknowledge with many thanks your letter of the 24th February, in which you were good enough to inform me of the views of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. It shall, I need not say, have my careful attention.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) LINLITHGOW.

*Letter from Mr. Jinnah, dated New Delhi, April 8, 1940.*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

This is just to inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning by the Frontier Mail.

After Your Excellency's letter of 28th February acknowledging my letter of 24th February in which the views of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League were placed for your consideration, Your Excellency was good enough to grant me an interview on the 13th March. In the course of the interview Your Excellency intimated to me that you were in communication with His Majesty's Government with regard to the subject-matter of the letters, and I was expecting to get an early reply from Your Excellency, I hope that you will now communicate to me your final answer as soon as possible to my Bombay address, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) M. A. JINNAH.

*H.E. The Viceroy's letter dated April 10, 1940.*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am much obliged for your letter of 8th April. I am not yet in a position to let you have a final answer to your letter of the 24th February, but I hope to do so before very long.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) LINLITHGOW.

*H.E. The Viceroy's letter dated April 19, 1940.*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was glad to gather from your letter of 24th February that my letter to you of 23rd December had removed some of the

doubts which had been felt by the All-India Muslim League. I do not read your letter as indicating that the Working Committee of the League expects anything further from me in your points the scope of the examination of the constitutional position to follow war and the policy in Palestine.

You ask, however, for further clarification of the position in regard to the use of Indian troops against Muslim Powers or countries while explaining, as I note and appreciate, that you had no intention of attempting to circumscribe their use in defending India against attack or aggression. I presume that you do not expect a guarantee, which it would obviously be impossible to give, binding us in future contingencies which no one can foresee. But you need no fear that if at any time such a contingency arose the consideration underlying your suggestion would be overlooked. Fortunately, however, so far as the present situation is concerned, His Majesty's Government are in friendly and sympathetic relations with all Muslim Powers to some of whom indeed they ar bound by alliance, while with the rest they are on terms of most cordial friendship.

You represent that your second point was not felt by the Working Committee to be adequately met by the terms of my letter. You have no doubt noticed the passage in the Secretary of State's speech on April 18th, in which he used these words:

> "But that does not mean that the future constitution of India is to be a constitution dictated by the Government and Parliament of this country against the wishes of the Indian people. The undertaking given by His Majesty's Government to examine the constitutional field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India connotes not dictation but negotiation. Admittedly a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential if the vision of a united India, which has inspired the labours of so many

Indians and Englishmen, is to become a reality; for I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, 80 million Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India, a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly."

This statement, I am sure you will agree has removed any possible doubts on this point.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) LINLITHGOW

(A.P.I.)

*AFM/KU/QA/Clip 9/pp. 65-67*

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## 394

### Statement asking Muslims of India to observe November 1 as "Muslim Countries Day," Bombay, October 11, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has announced that November I should be observed as "The day for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating the deep feeling of sympathy and concern of Muslim India, with the Muslim countries against any possible design or aggression upon the sovereignty and independence of those countries."

The Council of the All-India Muslim League at its last meeting resolved that "in view of the repeated reports that have reached India recently that there is a probability of war flames spreading and of aggression by Foreign Powers against the independence and sovereignty of the Muslim countries such a Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Turkey," the President of the Muslim League should fix a day "for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating deep sympathy and concern of Muslim India with

Muslim countries and also conveying to those who have any such design that in the event of any attack upon Muslim countries Muslim India would be forced to stand by them and give all the support it can."

Pursuant to that resolution Mr. Jinnah has fixed November 1 for the observance and in circular to the Provincial Muslim Leagues he says that in accordance with the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed on the 29th of September 1940, I have, as authorised by the said resolution, fixed 1st November 1940, the last Friday of the month of Ramazan, as the day for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating the deep feeling of sympathy and concern of Muslim India, with the Muslim countries at this critical juncture, when war flames are spreading, against any possible design or aggression upon the sovereignty and independence of those countries.

"I am enclosing a copy of the resolution of the Council of All-India Muslim League herewith, which should be supported and confirmed in public meetings throughout every province on that day, and also I hope that during the Friday prayers special prayers will be offered in all the mosques throughout all the provinces for the safety and integrity of the sovereignty and independence of Muslim countries.

"I hope that this earnest appeal of mine will receive the fullest support of Muslims generally and of the Muslim League in particular and that this day will be observed in a manner worthy of Islamic traditions." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, October 12, 1940.*

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## 395

### Message to the Muslim University, (Aligarh), Matheran, October 18, 1940

"The welfare and progress of a nation depends to a very great extent upon its intelligentia and its young generation. The Muslim Nation therefore naturally looks forward to our educational institutions such as the Muslim University, Aligarh, to educate and train the youth so that they may serve their people fully equipped with capability to work selflessly and sincerely. We must work and organise our people. We must form plans and take up constructive programme for the uplift of the Mussalmans generally and in particular for their social, educational and economic uplift. Then alone we shall be sufficiently powerful and strong to resist aggressive, harmful and alien forces which are working against us.

Our salvation lies in supporting and following the programme of the All-India Muslim League. It is undoubtedly the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. It has given us a flag, a platform and a cherished goal which is worth living for and, if necessary, dying for. This precious ideal we must achieve and defend and retain, even at the cost of enormous sacrifices that may be involved.

The time is approaching when the All-India Muslim League may have to call upon the Mussalmans to make great and real sacrifices for the cause for which we stand and for the realisation of our final goal. I am sure that Aligarh will not be found wanting or lagging behind when the call comes.

We have great Islamic traditions and historical achievements before us and it is for the coming generation specially to prove that we are capable of living upto our glorious past and will not shirk our responsibility in establishing

ourselves as a progressive nation in this country."

*QAP-F-1205/p.3*

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## 396

### Address to the "Muslim Countries Day of Observance" gathering, Bombay, November 1, 1940

"It is our duty to help our Muslim brethren wherever they are, from China to Peru, because Islam enjoins that it is our duty to go to the rescue of our Muslim brethren."

"After explaining the objects of the meeting, Mr. Jinnah stated that the extension of help to brother Muslims was one of the articles of the creed of the Muslim League constitution. Events were moving fast and one never knew when an attack would come. He added: "We have not got arms and ammunitions but we can in a thousand and one ways help our Muslim brethren if they are stricken. The Council of the All-India Muslim League at its meeting at Delhi decided to begin with the preparation for a Red Crescent Mission which would at least render aid to the wounded.

"We are convinced that in the interests of India (whatever may have been the deeds of the British Government in the past), we should support and co-operate with them as we are now in the same boat and in order to protect our own homes and hearths. We must make every preparation in the event of the war coming to Indian shores.

"The Muslim League has always made it clear that we are willing to give men, blood and money but the British Government does not want our co-operation with real authority in the Government and the offer that they made is merely in name by way of sharing authority. That is the difficulty in our

way to get Muslim India in giving wholehearted support in the prosecution of this war. Perhaps the Government are not meeting us reasonably because they are afraid of the Congress or it may be that they are not prepared to trust us. But these are only my guesses. God only knows what is the real reason why they are not meeting us in a satisfactory manner."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to organise themselves in various spheres — social, economic and political. It was the duty of every member of the community to make some sacrifice for the uplift of the community. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, November 3, 1940.*

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## 397

### Interview to a London newspaper regarding 'Muslim Countries Day of Observance', Bombay, November 1, 1940.

In an exclusive interview to a London newspaper* Mr. M. A. Jinnah, commenting on the Day of Observance by Indian Muslims stated:

The attitude of the British Government towards the Muslims in India is far from satisfactory in the policy they are pursuing in regard to their demands. The Viceroy's offer was only in name, purporting to give a real share and authority in Governments, provincial and central, for the purpose of prosecuting the war successfully.

Nor are the Muslims in India satisfied with regard to the policy pursued by Great Britain in Palestine. We think the

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* *News Chronical*. The Government of India supressed this interview and did not allow it to reach London. See speech dated November 13, 1940.

British Government does not care for our support and cooperation on an honourable basis with a real share in the authority of the Government. The observance of November 1, is based on the bond of brotherhood that exists between Muslim India and other Muslim countries, and it is the mark our sense of deep sympathy and concern with Islamic countries that we have decided to pray for the safety and integrity of their independence and sovereignty and to hold meetings all over the country to prepare people to be ready to give all the help we can in the event of any attack of aggression against them by any foreign Power.

We hope that not only the Nazis and Fascists will refrain from defying the solidarity of the Muslim world but also that the French and British will revise their policy in Syria and Palestine.

*QAP-File-772/p.2*

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## 398

### Speech at the Id gathering, Bombay, November 2, 1940

A call to the "90 million" Mussalmans of this country to be unified and be prepared to render all possible assistance in their power to the Muslim countries, if their safety or integrity was endangered, was made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League addressing about 20,000 men who had gathered to offer the Id prayers in the Azad Maidan.

Mr. Jinnah next unfurled the Muslim League Flag and addressing the large concourse explained that the world to day was in a dangerous position and any of the Muslim countries might be attacked at any time. "On this day of prayer," said Mr. Jinnah, "I want you to find out in what way we can help; our

brethren abroad."

Mr. Jinnah urged the Muslims to yearn for unity within the ranks of Muslims in this country, for unified, he added, "the 90 millions of Mussalmans could achieve whatever they wanted. I wish you to make up your minds that we are not a minority. We do not believe in the so-called democratic parliamentary form of government for this country. We are a nation and as such we should have our own territory and our own state."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, November 3, 1940.*

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## 399

### Statement regarding the date and venue of the next annual session of the League, Bombay, November 7, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has issued the following statement:-

"In accordance with the resolution dated the 29th September 1940 of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, authorising me, as the President, to decide the date and venue of the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League, I have, after considering the various proposals and invitations from the different provinces, finally accepted the invitation of the Madras Provincial Muslim League to hold the next session in Madras during the Easter Holidays.

"The exact date and the agenda will be notified after consultation with the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League and the Chairman of the Reception Committee already formed on behalf of the Madras Presidency.

*QAP-F-1022, p.256 &*
*The Star of India, November 8, 1940.*

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## 400

### Statement regarding supression of his interview given to the Bombay representative of the "News Chronicle," New Delhi, November 13, 1940.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has issued the following statement to the Press:-

"I regret to say that, according to my information, my interview, given to the Bombay representative of the London Newspaper, "News Chronicle" was not only supressed in India but was not allowed to reach London.

This will show how the machinery of Censor and that of the Government of India are operating. I, however, find that the full text of my interview did appear in the "Times of India," Bombay, on November 1, but in no other newspaper in this country.

I see nothing in my interview, which could be taken exception to.

**The Interview**

"My interview, referred above, was given in connection with the 'Day of Observance' and is as follows:-

"The attitude of the British Government towards the Muslims in India is far from satisfactory in the policy they are pursuing in regard to their demands. The Viceroy's offer was only in name, purporting to give a real share and authority in Governments, Provincial and Central, for the purpose of prosecuting the war successfully. Nor are the Muslims in India satisfied with regard to the policy pursued by Great Britain in Palestine. We think the British Government does not care for our support and cooperation on an honourable basis with a real share in the authority of the Government. The observance of November 1, is based on the bond of brotherhood that exists

between Muslim India and other Muslim countries, and it is the mark of our sense of deep sympathy and concern with Islamic countries that we have decided to pray for the safety and integrity of their independence and sovereignty and to hold meetings all over the country to prepare people to be ready to give all the help we can in the even of any attack or aggression against them by any foreign power. We hope that not only the Nazis and Fascists will refrain from defying the solidarity of the Muslim world but also that the French and British will revise their policy in Syria and Palestine'.

**Bombay Speech**

"Then again, the summary of my speech, which I delivered at a public meeting at Bombay on November 1 was correctly reported in the 'Times of India.' I presume that the News Agencies in this country wired a substantially correct and fairly full summary of my speech, but for some reason or other it was 'touched' either on its way or at its final destination. The result was a mutilated summary with sentences disjointed from its context. Some of the statements published in the summary were, therefore, misleading and were entirely foreign to the context. The correct version of the speech which appeared in the 'Times of India' on November 5 is as follows:-

"'Special prayers for the safety and integrity of the sovereignty of Muslim countries' were offered in many parts of India by Muslims after the Jumma prayers in the mosques on Friday. It was the Muslim 'Day of Observance,' fixed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah addressing the gathering said: 'It is our duty to help our Muslim brethren wherever they are, from China to Peru, because Islam enjoins that it is our duty to go to the rescue of our Muslim brethren.' After explaining the objects of the meeting Mr. Jinnah stated that the extension of help to brother Muslims was one of the articles of the creed of the Muslim League constitution. Events were moving fast and one never

knew when an attack would come. He added: 'We have not got arms and ammunitions but we can in a thousand and one ways help our Muslim brethren, if they are stricken. The Council of the All-India Muslim League at its meeting at Delhi decided to begin with the Preparation of a Red Crescent Mission which would at least render aid to the wounded. We are convinced that in the interests of India (whatever may have been the deeds of the British Government in past) we should support and co-operate with them as we are now in the same boat and in order to protect our own homes and earths. We must make every preparation in the event of the war coming to Indian shores.

" 'The Muslim League has always made it clear that we are willing to give men, blood and money, but the British Government does not want our co-operation with real authority in the Government and offers that they made are merely in the name by way of sharing authority. That is the difficulty in our way to get Muslim India in giving whole-hearted support in the prosecution of the war. Perhaps Government are not meeting us reasonably because they are afraid of the Congress or it may be that they are not prepared to trust us. But these are only my guesses. God only knows what is real reason why they are not meeting us in a satisfactory manner.'

"Concluding, Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to organise themselves in various spheres; social, economic and political. 'It was the duty of every member of the community he said 'to make some sacrifice for the uplift of the community.'

"I maintain that I was bound and entitled to place the correct position before the Muslim public and there was nothing objectionable in my speech, as would be apparent from the summary of it quoted above." (A.P.I).

*The Star of India, November 14, 1940.*

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# 401

## Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly, on the Indian Finance (No. 2) Bill, New Delhi, November 19, 1940.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman** (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to alter the maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, to increase the rates of the taxes on income imposed by the Indian Finance Act, 1940, by a surcharge for the purposes of the Central Government, and to increase the rate of super-tax payable by companies, be taken into consideration."

Sir, as I made a full and exhaustive speech on the opening day of the Session on the financial position in which I gave the background out of which these proposals have arisen, I do not propose to detain the House with a speech of any length. I shall, therefore, merely make a few remarks on the provisions of the Bill itself.....

.....

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**:.....Now, there is a joke in this speech. The expenditure on air raid precautions is to be met by the centre. What are these air raid precautions? In my city I cannot go out after 6 o'clock except at 10 miles an hour, and all the places are absolutely dark. I am a layman, but what is the idea? Cannot aeroplanes come in daylight and drop bombs? Can't they come in moonlight nights and drop bombs? And even if they come, what is the defence that they have got? I am told there are two antiaircraft guns in Madras, one of which is out of action! That is the kind of precautions they have for the defence of this country.

Then, as regards the requirements of aeroplanes for the defence of this country, Sir Jeremy Raisman gave a negative

assurance, for which I feel thankful, — he said the idea of having an aeroplane factory has not been abandoned. What a consoling statement, and with what composure does he make this statement? Is there no anger or resentment in us? You treat us as if we are children.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Non-violence.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: I am grateful to Mr. Jinnah, the Leader of the Muslim League Party, for reminding me of our creed of non-violence, and I for one want to tell him and this House that non-violence is the only creed by which humanity can hope to survive. I put it to my friends, Sir, honestly and sincerely, if this war goes on like this, if aeroplanes are multiplied a thousandfold, a millionfold, if bombs are dropped on innocent men, women and children, if this kind of slaughter goes on, then humanity will soon go back to the level of the Ape and the Chimpanzee, and the world will become unhabitable by man. You may laugh at us, our flesh may be weak, — mine is weak, — but I put it to my friend Mr. Jinnah as to whether he does not see that the future of humanity rests on the acceptance of the creed of non-violence sooner or later by the whole of humanity.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I did not expect the Honourable Member to give us a lecture on the virtues of non-violence. What I said was when he was expressing his urge and anger, it was opposed to non-violence.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Now, Sir, I am glad to be taught a lesson.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: If I am wrong, why be angry?

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: I shall control my anger in the hope that he will follow my example. I shall be quite content if Mr. Jinnah also ceases to be angry. That will be good for the country.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I don't believe in non-violence.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: I don't believe in being angry.....

.....

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**:.....I say that this question must be solved with the help of all representative and distinguished Indians who can speak in the name of people of India. I suggest that the demand of the Congress has been, is and will be that the constitution of a free India shall be determined by a constituent assembly based on adult suffrage in which all minorities will be returned by separate electorates. Can anything be fairer, more democratic, juster? I want to know what is wrong with it. Of course, if they have no use for democracy, I cannot argue about that, but if Britain fights for democracy, I suggest that it is a most democratic, it is a most just solution.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Britain has never said she is fighting for democracy.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Veery good, I will leave that to Government and to Mr. Jinnah.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Britain has never said that she is fighting for democracy in the world.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Then, what for? Why should we pay the money then? I am very grateful to my Honourable friend for pointing out that Britain is not fighting for democracy. What then is she fighting for?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: For her survival.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: That is a different matter, but why should we pay for it? What we have got to vote for is whether we shall pay the money for Britain's *survival*.....

.....

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths**:.....It is no use waiting until the

danger is imminent. My Honourable friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, said yesterday, that as long as Turkey stands, we are all right, and there is no need for India to spend a pie on defence measures as long as Turkey stands. Does my Honourable friend seriously believe that after the fall of Turkey there would still be time for India to prepare? Or, again, another Honourable Member, speaking yesterday, said: "Let India first be free: when India has attained freedom, we will then start to prepare for war."……

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I do not think the Honourable Member is quite correct. I do not think the Maulana said so. What Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said was that we should be prepared to help the Moslem countries who form a sort of bulwark, and Turkey is the first, and, therefore, we should prepare ourselves to raise a large army in order to send them to the Moslem countries if necessary.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths**: Mr. Jinnah is naturally in a better position than I can be to interpret the workings of the minds of his followers……

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: He said so.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths**: I assure the Honourable Member that I took down the words myself.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I would like you to see the official report.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths**: I am quite prepared to see it: but I can assure Mr. Jinnah that I took down the actual words of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan at the time: his words are "We are not prepared to spend a single pie on the defence of India until Turkey is gone".

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No; he never said that.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths**: If Mr. Jinnah on behalf of his Party

repudiates that statement, I shall not press it.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am not repudiating any statement. The Honourable Member is misrepresenting the speech of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan – he is not here – and if he will read the official report – let it be produced now – he will find that what I am saying is correct absolutely.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths**: I am not particularly concerned to bandy words, as to who said what. But I can assure my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, that in Mr. Boyel's presence yesterday I wrote down these words as they were said. I do not want to bandy words.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am not challenging or doubting the bona fides of the Honourable Member: it is possible that he took down what he says he did take down; but if you will kindly read the whole of the speech, what I am saying is correct.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths**: What Mr. Jinnah says is undoubtedly the correct report of what should have been said.....

. . . . .

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**:.....Now, there he is practically giving an order to his subordinates to express their opinion in the manner he likes. That is unfair. Sir, I believe that there the Honourable Sir Andrew Clow's opinion is based on misunderstanding. What right has he got to influence his subordinates to convass and ask them to vote for and agree with his view? Both of us should have equal chance.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Because they are his subordinates.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: But the decision of the Government of India will be based on the opinion of these subordinates of his and therefore he now asks his subordinates to express their opinion in this particular way and on the

opinion of the subordinates the Governor General in Council will issue his orders in the manner in which he has already formed his opinion and in the manner in which he has given his orders to his subordinates.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Whom do you want to decide?

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: Since the Communications Member is a party, I have no other alternative but to request the Government to appoint somebody else to review this particular report — say the Home Member, or the Finance Member or the Secretary for Defence but certainly not a person who is already party to it.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: "Mr. Deputy President, I rise to take part in this debate not without a certain amount of sorrow. — and this is a moment which I think we all realise is a grave moment. Sir, we have heard various speeches in the course of the last six days. There have been essays, sermons, lectures — historical, moral and religious. I am an ordinary mortal and I am not going to enter into all those eruditions and disquisitions that have taken place in this House. Sir, let us confine ourselves to our path, the humdrum path of politics and of a legislature.

Now as I visualise and survey the entire situation, it can be divided into three parts. The first part is the past, the next is the present, and the next is the future. Now, sir, dealing with the past: is any good purpose going to be served by our indulging in bitter charges and accusations and controversies over the past? Is this the moment for us to accuse each other, to abuse each other, and say, 'these are your wicked deeds,' and the other side says, 'these are your follies!' Is that going to serve any good purpose? It only adds more to the bitterness; it only makes a problem which is so fraught with complexities and difficulties more difficult and goes further and further away from a point where a solution may be found. I am not going, therefore, to indulge in the past. We know it; we understand it.

Now it has been said – I may state it very shortly – that first and the foremost ground was that the Government of India did not consult us with regard to the despatch of troops abroad. Of course we know the somewhat peculiar convention has been established. We are informed – if you call that consultation, it is informal no doubt – we are told that His Majesty's Government had decided to send troops abroad to such and such a place. If you call that consultation, you may do so, I am not complaining at present. We are told that that was enough for us to say to the Government, "we are not going to have anything to do with it."

Sir, that is a thing of the past, we cannot alter it now. Are we going now at this moment to sit down and say that we are going to overhaul, recast the entire constitution of this country? – And mind you, this is a very important factor the Constitution of the country.

We were told that we were not consulted about the declaration of war. Well there has been a lot of constitutional and legal controversy. I am not going to say, "this side is right", or "that side is wrong", but surely we all know, I think my honourable friend Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar knows perfectly well, that the position of the Government of India is totally different from the position of the Dominions of the Westminster variety – totally. Why pretend, and why let Mr. Griffiths say – as he did – I think it was a very unwise remark, indeed, when he said that the moment the Congress Party was not here, the House ceased to be a representative one. Well, do you realise what you are saying, *viz.*, that then the rest does not count? What did you mean?

**Mr. P.J. Griffiths**: (Assam: European) I meant that a part cannot represent the whole.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Of course not, if a large portion goes out, but that is obvious. But is that a justification for saying that the Government, therefore, did not think it advisable to consult

this House? Why not? That is not the reason, Sir. The reason is that the Government of India have got no power; that is the real reason, and this House has got no power to say, "We will not declare India as a belligerent." We have not got the power. However bad it may be, however much we may resent it, it is a fact, a constitutional, legal and a physical fact that India is in the possession of Great Britain and a dependency. You cannot get away from it. Can you contend for a single moment that this Government here have got the power and even His Excellency the Viceroy, the Representative of the Crown, has got the power to consult this Legislature and, still better, abide by its decision with regard to the declaration of war? Then why pretend? Why pretend this? We know you cannot do it, and there is an end of it. War has been declared. Very well. Well, now, as I say, I do not want to discuss the past history. I do not want to discuss past deeds; I know war was declared, and whether India liked it or whether India did not like it, whether India is willing or unwilling, India is in it — and that is a fact.

Now I ask the honourable members of this House to that we are face to face with this and that is the present. Now, what are we to do? Sir, it is a pity really that arguments should be advanced on the one side and arguments should be advanced on the other side which have no reality.

Again, what has been done now? That is the question. Well, if the Government tell me and if they want to put fear into my heart by advancing the argument that if England is defeated what will happen to us, then all I can say is that I do not want England to be defeated. I have never said so. But might I not say that if England is defeated, who will lose more? You or I? If England is defeated, then England not only loses its liberty, its freedom and not only it may come under the heals of the Nazis, but nothing is left to you. Might I not say to you that you are in a greater danger than I am? Is that going to help us? You may for the purpose of propaganda to the unwary and ignorant say; 'Oh,

if England is defeated, what will be your position! Your liberty or even aspiration to liberty or aspiration to responsible Government, your religion, your churches and your mosques will be demolished! It may be so. But is that going really to do the trick or it is not open to the retort which I mentioned just now?

Another argument is; and that is particularly aimed at the Mussalmans of this country, the Muslim countries are in danger. Of course, they are. Nobody disputes it. But, as I said, a government has got to think really in a responsible manner. Can you by these arguments and propaganda succeed? Of course you can do a lot by propaganda but there are certain things which you cannot carry out from fear. Therefore, the position is this. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, I venture to say and without any fear of contradiction, that from the very beginning we have not put any difficulty in the way of the Government. We have not embarrassed the Government in any way from the very commencement. From the 4th of September 1939 right up to the 29th of September this year, which is one year, we have put no difficulties of any kind whatsoever in the course of the negotiations.

Let me shortly take this house as quickly as I can, through important events. After the Representative of the Crown had interviewed a large body of the leading representative men of India, suddenly I was summoned jointly with Mr. Gandhi and Babu Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Congress in October 1939. In October I did not know nor I believe, did Mr. Gandhi or Babu Rajendra Prasad know, but a proposal came from him. What was that proposal? You all know it, I think. I will put his proposal in a few sentences. So far as the provincial field was concerned, it was entirely in the hands of the two major Parties, namely the Congress and the Muslim League, and if we could come to some adjustment in the provincial field, he was prepared to expand his Executive

Council. The number of the Executive Council is not limited or defined under the Statute. It is an unlimited number. He conveyed to us that, in the expansion of his Executive Council, he would be prepared to meet us to the utmost extend he could. What was the result of it? I hope Honourable members will not misunderstand me in any way. I did not say that it was getting all as the Congress wanted, nor was it getting all that I or Muslim League wanted. We were not satisfied and they were not satisfied with regard to their demands. We were not satisfied with regard to what we were asking. But the point is this that I stated there and then, on my responsibility that we were willing to consider the Viceroy's proposals. Unfortunately, Mr. Gandhi there and then rejected it. He won't look at it. There the matter broke down for the time being. In February, again – I do not know exactly what happened, I can only say what appeared in the newspapers — the Orient Club speech of the Viceroy conveyed to Mr. Gandhi that there was a germ for an honourable settlement. Another effort was made in February but it also met with the similar result. What happened from February onwards, I do not know.

Now I am talking of the British Government, because, after all, the Representatives of the Crown has really got to carry out the instructions from His Majesty's Government. Evidently there was a lull. Why, then, blame the Muslim League? I hear from very many gentlemen, some of them are Members of this House and some are not, "Plague on your both houses".

Then what happened after that? After that, we thought that the whole business had gone to sleep. But in the interests of India – and I have said this repeatedly – it is the duty of every Indian to see that India's defence is intensified for the protection of our own homes and hearths in case of danger. We passed a Resolution, I think in June. I will just read one small paragraph of that to show what we said.

"The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee, therefore, authorises its President to enter into negotiations with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India. The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis of close co-operation is agreed upon on an all India basis and not province-wise between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and object will not be saved and achieved."

Sir, this was on 17th of June. Then, I imagine something happened, and this had a wholesome effect. I do not know but I can only say that immediately this resolution reached the headquarters, a move was again made. With what result? With this result, that, unfortunately, the Congress position remained the same. I shall presently deal with our attitude towards the Congress when I come to deal with that. But that is how we stand. The Congress position stands the same.

My Honourable friend Mr. James, made an excellent speech, and he came very near it, just as he said we came very near it. The principle, he has accepted, as he correctly described

it. What is the principle?" Co-operation with authority in the Government at the Centre and in the provinces." That is accepted. Then he says to me: "How do you now make your position clear to us"? I will read a short extract from his speech as it was reported in the Press.

> "He (*that is Mr. James*) understood that the Muslim League have moved very closely to the acceptance in principle of the statement made by His Majesty's Government subject to various reservations. But he should like to know whether that was final?"
>
> What is final" The principle is accepted. "Would they throw away the principle for the sake of details?"

We accept the principle but it may be completely destroyed in the execution of details, or it may be reduced to a zero. In this matter when you make distinctions, the principle can be reduced to nonsense. In other words, may I give you an example? I want your help. I am in danger and so are you. We will not apportion the degree of danger between us both. We both are in danger. I want to throw into the pool all the resources I can, and I say, let us both face together the peril and the danger. Let us both sink or swim. All right so far, but what about my having a voice in the assets that I bring into this pool, leave alone the share in the victory? As I am bringing into the pool, must I not have some share, some voice, some say as to how it is going to be used, and how the joint venture is to be run? The answer is, "Oh, no, I will use that as I like."

Then, when I am obdurate and say that I want really a proper share, some proper voice, then you say, 'I will take you as my partner. So you will also have a voice and a share and a say in the matter.' What will be my share? 'I will give two jobs to your representatives.' What is going to be the total number of the controlling authority? 'I cannot tell you.' Who else is coming into this controlling authority? 'I cannot tell you.' What will be

the portfolios? 'I cannot tell you.' It means really, to put it shortly, 'I will have you as my partner but I will give you only one pie as share.' In that case, why do you want my partnership in name? I ask Mr. James as a man of business, if this is business. Then, again, Mr. James says:

> "The Muslim League, however, has made their position clear with regard to the prosecution of the war."

I am very glad we have made our position clear. Then Mr. James continues:

> "Mr. Jinnah in his speech on the *Id* day declared whatever be the misdeeds of the British Government in the past, in the interests of India it was the Muslim's duty..."
>
> —that is not quite correct—
>
> "to support and co-operate with them now in order to protect our hearths and homes."

Then, when I asked him to read on, he said: "I have not got the rest of it." Sir, I do not want really to waste the time of the House over these matters. But it is important. I think Mr. James, if he had read the whole of my speech, would not have ended by these remarks. He says this:

> "His only object in referring to the speech was to make clear that the Muslim League party leader's speech on the Finance Bill was awaited to see how he implements that duty to which he alluded in the Id day speech."

May I appeal to Mr. James to turn on that side and not on my side and ask them how they are going to implement that principle which, you have rightly, said, was accepted by the Muslim League? And what I said on *Id* day, was this:

> "We are convinced that in the interests of India, whatever may have been the deeds of the British

> Government in the past, we should support and co-operate with them, as we are now in the same boat. And in order to protect our homes and hearths we must make every preparation in the event of the war coming to the Indian shores. The Muslim League has always made it clear that we are willing to give men, blood and money, but the British Government does not want our co-operation with real authority"

I repeat those words, "with real authority" – I ask Mr. James to address the Treasury Benches next time –

> "in the Government and the offer that they made is merely in name by way of sharing authority. That is the difficulty in our way to get Muslim India" "in giving whole-hearted support in the prosecution of the war. Perhaps Government are not meeting us reasonably, because they are afraid of the Congress or it may be that they are not prepared to trust us."

I will add one more reason now. Or it may be, as the Honourable Leader of the House said, England is having a stronghold now and we cannot possibly prevent or help very much the war efforts of the Government of India, and therefore there is no need for it. Then I continued,

> "But these are only my guesses. God only knows what is the real reason; why they are not meeting us in a satisfactory manner."

That, Sir, has been our position from the very beginning and that is the position to-day. We are now asked to vote supplies. Sir, so long as this war goes on and so long as the Government of India have got to carry on the war efforts, it is obvious that you cannot do without money. We have got to be thankful that the demand is only for six crores just now. But we cannot scrutinise and examine, and we have really no means of

knowing how you will spend it or what commitments you have made. We have no voice, no say, no share, no look-in and no control as to what you have done or what you will do. We have a number of complaints, – there may be a foundation for them or no foundation – as to how the Supply Department is going on, how the Army Department is going on, how this department is going on. There is suspicion and distrust and people are wondering what you are doing behind the scene. I ask you, Sir, even at this grave critical moment, if the Government are really in earnest, if they are really serious, if they really want our hand of co-operation and friendship, take it on an honourable basis. If they had, as Mr. Amery in his speech said the real purpose of expansion of the Executive Council, of having the representatives of political organisations in the executive, you will restore the confidence of the public. You will then find that those very representatives, both on the floor of this House and outside, would be free to explain to the people what is going on but now it is a sealed book completely. And what does Mr. Amery say?

> "The Viceroy's offer on the other hand presents to the Indian leaders an opportunity of taking an effective and important part in the Government of India and bringing their influence to bear on the conduct of the war without prejudice to their several positions. They will have committed themselves to nothing except working together in the present emergency for the safety and good of India and for the common cause in which they all believe."

That is really the position of the Muslim League. Can you expect us to vote supplies in the expenditure and use of which we have no say, no voice, no share, no authority and no control? I cannot understand how Honourable Members can possibly make one speech after another appealing to sentiments and lecturing and essaying. I ask the Treasury Benches, I ask the

European Group, why do you not put your heads together and bring some sense in those who are now in power? There is my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Gidney who was so eloquently appealing to me. He said, he sent me a telegram that he would be with me to the last ditch, and he again reaffirms that he will be with me till the last ditch. But by his speech he has already sent me to the last ditch. Let us get into the first ditch and let him face those people there instead of appealing to me.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney**: I have faced them.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: You did not. Why do you not tell them?

**Lient-Conolel Sir Gidney**: I have.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Why do you not say it on the floor of this House?

**Lient-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney**: I have.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No; you did not, I was here throughout your speech. Sir, it has become a fashion to give a lecture to the weaker party, and you can afford to lecture the weaker party. Now I say and I say again to Mr. James: Remember, our resolution was rejection of that specific offer. The doors of the Muslim League are still open. But we cannot really possibly vote supplies in which we have no lot, no share."

Then I am told – and this is their last argument, a forlorn argument – all the others are platitudes for supporting the Government – what will happen and all that – but the last is this: that if we allow this Bill to be defeated you – and of course the Congress are absolutely determined to defeat – what will be the impression abroad? In the first instance, if the Congress succeeds in defeating you it is not my fault; it is the fault of your Constitution; and you have enacted this Constitution; you have been carrying it on this wooden, ante-diluvian Government for decades now, and you cannot have it

both ways. It is your Constitution, it is of your making. But I am told: "But it will have a bad impression abroad" When you say bad impression abroad, where and what will be the impression? Let me tell you, Sir, that those who want to create that impression have worked it out mathematically. Even if you win by a few votes, even if the Muslim League was to go into your lobby, they have already informed those abroad that the majority of the elected members are against it; and which fool is there in America, which fool is there in Germany, who does not know your constitution, who does not know the nature and character of this Assembly? Who is the man who will be so much upset that you will lose the war because this Fiance Bill was rejected?

Let me, for the sake of argument assume — assuming that it will be an embarrassment — I do not think so, and I think you are exaggerating, and you are attaching too much importance to it — but even if it was to embarrass you, how can you expect me to support you? Mind you I do not say that I am satisfied with the acceptance of the principle, but it is not a question of my being satisfied. Nobody is going to get 16 annas, and specially, believe me, when you are in the grip of danger, it is not wise for one party or the other to put up any extraordinary demands, because that is not business, and that is the very reason why we have never said a word that you should agree to give me "Pakistan" before I support you: and, believe me, whatever my friends of the Congress Party may say, we have finally determined that that is our only goal; and we will fight for it and die for it. Make no mistake about it. Democracy is dead — democracy of Mr. Desai's kind. We may be less in numbers and we are; but we could give you, I venture to say and perhaps you do not know it, but I do, and I am not saying this by way of a threat but by way of information to you — that we can give you hundred times more trouble than the Congress can give you if we so determine; but we do not want to. You will realise that.

But we do not want to do it even now. The future — we will leave the future. Therefore, so far as the Government is concerned, that is the position of the Muslim League.

I have only got to say few more words with regard to my Congress friends: and I think I must at least tell them, whether they agree with me or whether they do not, but as Mr. Desai said it very rightly, we must face facts. What is the position? I will narrate it very briefly. Mr. Desai read out a statement of the Working Committee which he said was of 10th September: I only interrupted him because in my record it was the 14th September: I wished to get the correct date. Mr. Desai says the 10th — and I accept that. After that statement of the Working Committee of the 10th September that Resolution or statement was placed before the All-India Congress Committee and that Committee passed the Resolution on the 10th October of last year. That resolution laid down a declaration of India's independence and freedom, the right to frame their own constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected by way of adult franchise, and special franchise for the minorities and safeguards for the minorities to the satisfaction of minorities. And although I am pressed for time, I think I must tell the House the correct position, and I tell you and my Congress friends that they have still, at the back of their head the idea that the Congress and Congress alone represents the country, the people of India, the Indian nation, and so on, that they alone are the spokesmen, and that the Muslims and others are minorities. I say this on the floor of this House that the reason why there has not been a settlement between the Hindus and Mussalmans is that — the Congress leaders will pardon me for saying this — the Congress is a Hindu organisation, whatever they may say — the Hindu leaders and Congress leaders have had always at the back of their head, the basis that the Mussalmans have to come within the ken of the Congress and the Hindu Raj, that they are a minority, and all that they can

justly press for is merely safeguards as a minority, whereas let me tell gentlemen of the Congress and the Nationalist Congress Party members that the Mussalmans always had at their back the basis, – and it has never been different during the last 25 years, – that they are a separate entity.....

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: At least that was not the view of Mr. Jinnah before 1920.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Since 1916, since the Lucknow Pact was passed, on the fundamental principle of two separate entities.....

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I was there.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: My friend may have been there, but he was not even heard of at that time. That has been at the back of the Mussalman mind, and the other idea has been at the back of the Hindu leaders' mind. The bases are different, and I will give my friends one more proof because I was interrupted. Why is it, – do you know it or do you not, – why is it that the Mussalmans insisted upon the separation of Sind? You know it. Do you know that the man who was at that time devoted to the Congress, Maulana Mohammad Ali said:

"We want a corridor from Karachi to Calcutta?"

Do you remember that" Why is it that some of you so vehemently opposed the separation of Sind? No doubt, outward grounds are different, but the real grounds we know. Outwardly, it is financial ground, this, that and the other. You said it will be better off if Sind is with Bombay, it is not in the interest of Sind to be separated, and so on...

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: It is not unfortunate now for Sind?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: My dear friend, it is a misfortune to all of us now. Nobody is in fortune just now. I am only giving

you indications to prove my point that that has been at the back of Muslim India and the Hindu India, and the basis have been different, and that is why we have failed to come to a settlement. That is continued up to the present moment. I will quote from my friend, the Deputy Leader, Mr. Satyamurti, and what did he say only as late as May last after Mr. Amery had made his statement? This is what Mr. Satyamurti said. What was his acid test? "The acid test of Mr. Amery's ability and earnestness will be his saying to the Muslim League, – Muslim Leaguers, 'No Pakistan, no coalition, no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards, you must settle with the majority'; once he says that, the rest will be easy..."

**An Honourable Member**: Who says that?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Mr. Satyamurti. He says, no coalition, – no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards, settle with the majority. My friend asks hand over the Muslims to our tender mercies .....

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: No, no, I did not say that.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: My friend's acid test is nothing but that.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: I did not say that.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I say, Sir, that is the mentality at the back of Congress leaders.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti**: Not at all.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: And I tell my friends that they are making the greatest mistake that they ever made in their life. Mr. Satyamurti says to Mr. Amery: "Tell them to settle with the majority." Well, I daresay, I get frightened of Mr. Amery also, because these people are sharpening the knife, non-co-operating and preparing for civil disobedience and launching it. This Government and the British Government, if I may say so, is

unnerved, and I get frightened, and they think that, in spite of your tenacity, you may be forced into it; but then comes the statement of 8th August and Mr. Amery's speech. That is now the crux. I don't say that the British Government could have done anything else. If they had done anything else, if they had been a party to coerce the Muslims, if they had been a party to throw the Muslims and other minorities at the mercy of the Congress, they would have left a dishonourable record in the history of this country. If they had done that, what would it have come to? That is really where I am fundamentally at variance with the Congress. They do not want the independence of India. I will read what Mr. Gandhi said. What they want is, under the over-lordship of Britain, power and patronage to dominate the Muslims and rest of the minorities. This is what Mr. Gandhi himself says, and it is a thing to which I cannot subscribe. This is what Mr. Gandhi said: "It is my conviction and I am satisfied. This is an article he wrote on the 29th of October. Of course, Mr. Gandhi's articles and speeches are such that you can drive support for any proposition; he is like the oracle of Delphi — but in order to understand Mr. Gandhi you have to study and go deep into the thing. This is what Mr. Gandhi said on the 29th October last year after he had rejected the offer of the Viceroy:

> "If to-day the British leave India, the Punjabis from the Punjab" — he might have honestly said Muslims, — "and Gurkhas from the East will destroy the country. If, therefore, there could be anyone desirous of maintaining the supremacy of the British in India," — mark the words — "if, therefore, there could be anyone desirous of maintaining the supremacy of the British in India it can only be the Congress."

**An Honourable Member**: Read on, please.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** I am reading, I have studied it much more than you have done.

Now comes the other operative part:

"It is the only authoritative and representative body of Indian people and of those Hindus who are, in spite of their majority, weak."

I ask this House, I ask any intelligent man, what does this mean? On 29th October last year, after the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee of the 10th October, within less than 20 days, Mr. Gandhi writes this thing. That resolution, if you honestly believe in it, asks for complete independence, the right of the people of India to freedom, chosen by a Constituent Assembly to be elected by adult franchise. But here what does this mean? He was telling the British Government, 'You settle with me, I am more desirous to maintain your supremacy here than the Punjabis and the Gurkhas.' Mr. Gandhi became a convert, a complete convert, to this artistic Resolution of the 10th October when he found that this was not going to do. He realised. Then he became a convert and he found that it was a panacea for every kind of ills the people of India are suffering from. What was the panacea? The Constituent Assembly. This went on. When this Constituent Assembly was beaten and dead, then we come to what the Leader of the Opposition emphasized — I believe the Delhi Resolution. What is it? He only mentioned a part of it. He did not emphasize the first part of it. The first part of it — correct me if I am wrong — declared "complete Independence of India and freedom with a right to frame its own constitution by a Constituent Assembly," etc., etc. And, mind you, it is a joint — and not or — provisional National Government at the Centre responsible to the elected Members of this House."

Beautiful! I assure you it appeals me more than it appeals to you, and I dreamt of it when I was a boy of 21. It appeals to me very much but the situation has changed in this House. A National Government — the Leader of the Opposition

said – does not mean democratic majority Government. I quite understand. It was explained although the word 'national' is misleading. However, we won't argue about that. We always find Congress Resolutions are passed, then commentators like Mayukha and Mitakshara and so forth, and then the commentators go on commenting, and you have forgotten the original text of it! No doubt, we have high authorities as commentators. They said, by a National Government they mean a composite Government. Am I correct?

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: Yes.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Coalition if you like; it means the Cabinet will be from all Parties.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai**: What Mr. Amery said – the Government in England – at least that was his comparison.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Mr. Amery has also said, you cannot have Government like they have in England, in the same speech. Mr. Amery has said this also:

> "India cannot be unitary in the sense that we are in this island, but she can still be a unitary. India's future house of freedom has room for many mansions."

Mr. Amery has said that also. Is the first part of the resolution gone then? You do not want a declaration immediately a declaration for complete independence and freedom with a right to the people of India to freedom, a Constitution by a Constituent Assembly. Is that gone or does it remain?

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: One comment said, it was the right to declaration.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: You are asking the British Government to make a declaration here and now.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I am giving the commentary of Mr. Rajagopalacharya on that.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: That is just the trouble. (Interruption). Another commentary. But I say, Sir, if the Congress have got a definite practical proposal to make, not the one that they have made because we have repeatedly said, I have said it, the League said so in the Resolutions. In the first instance, I do not believe for a single moment that any power can declare any other country or a nation independent, by a mere declaration. And I say, no power can continue the subjugation of people of another country if the people of that other country are fit to throw off the yoke. It is not a matter of declaration. If you believe in complete independence, I would honour you; stick to your guns, then there is nothing to negotiate with the British Government, nothing to negotiate. What is the use of asking them, let me first have a Constituent Assembly and that Constituent Assembly will frame the Constitution? What have they got to do with this Constitution? Are they to have the honour and privilege of putting this Constitution which will be framed by your Constituent Assembly on the Statute Book of Britain? What for? They have nothing to do here. Say so. Let us appeal to the country if you like, let us take the verdict of the country. But if you mean, as I do, the transfer of substantial power immediately and for that purpose it is the British Government and the British Parliament that can, by enacting a statute on their Statute Book, transfer that power and vest that power in the representatives of the people of this country, then I can understand. Where is the basis for negotiation?.

If you drop your first part and if you mean a composite Government, responsible to the elected Members of this Legislature, provisionally, let us not lose our sense of proportion. I say to the Honourable gentlemen of the Congress Party, we are in danger, say what you like. We cannot be indifferent now. If

you really have a practical proposal which can be accepted by all reasonable parties, why don't you adopt the correct channel, the proper procedure, the proper method? What is the use of addressing them. What is the use of despatching it to the *Daily Herald*? Well, they cannot make up their mind. Mr. Rajagopalacharya has made a "sporting offer". Now, we have been told day in and day out even by the able and competent gentlemen of the Press here, the army of them that I see: what is this? Mr. Rajagopalacharya's sporting offer is also not considered. But where is the offer? What does Mr. Rajagopalacharya say" May I read the few lines in which he has compressed this offer. He says:

> "In answer to Mr. Amery's difficulty as to the minorities, I may make a sporting offer that if His Majesty's Government agree to a provisional National Government being formed at once, I shall undertake to persuade my colleagues in the Congress to agree to the Muslim League being invited to nominate the Prime Minister and to let him form a National Government as he would consider best..."

Now, Sir, why does he not invite the prospective Prime Minister to have a talk with him, instead of firing it off to the *Daily Herald* and saying "I will persuade my colleagues of the Working Committee to do this, that and the other?" I do ask my honourable friends — is this business? And to-day Mr. Rajagopalacharya justifies why he did not make that offer to the Muslim League.

I tell you, I cannot restrain my utter astonishment and amazement as to how that mind works. It is impossible to understand it. This is what he says to-day. I shall only refer to that portion which relates to this subject. The other parts have nothing to do with it. Of course he has paid us a compliment that the Muslims were more ardent for independence than

others. I am very glad.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali**: When did you discover that.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Before you did!

[At this stage, President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) resumed the Chair.]

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: The point is this. They say that the British Government did not take any notice of the 'sporting offer' and some critics suggested that it should have been made to Mr. Jinnah, and not to the British Government. But the offer was not made to the British Government even, though I admit that the British Government have taken note of it. It would, in his opinion, have been improper to make it to Mr. Jinnah in the first instance as Mr. Jinnah would then have had legitimate ground for considering it an insult and retorting that he was not after jobs. I ask, if Mr. Amery had accepted this offer, and, then, if that offer had been made to me, would it not have been open to the same retort, because it is the same offer and the terms are the same. I would have said: "Both Mr. Amery and Mr. Rajagapalacharya and are insulting me and that I am not here for jobs." Do give some credit to other people at least for commonsense. Is this really the explanation?

**An Honourable Member**: Read the later portion also.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I am quite willing to read the other part. He says:

> "Assuming that Mr. Jinnah accepted the offer, it would not be in the speaker's power to implement it unless there was the prior commitment by the British Government to part with power."

His argument is, if I had accepted it, it was not in his power to implement it. It may not be in his power to implement, nor is it in my power to implement, but the latest and

authoritative pronouncement of the British Government is this: "If you can put your heads together and bring some agreement we are willing to consider it." Then what is the use of making this offer to Mr. Amery over the head of the Muslim League?

**An Honourable Member**: We can agree provided they are willing to part with power.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I do not think they have ever gone the length that you want to go but they have said this: we are willing immediately to associate the representatives of the political parties and to give them an effective and important share in the Government of India by the proposal of the expanded Executive Council.

Surely that is not the last word. In fact the last word is never spoken in politics. Now if you really think they must give you beforehand the blank cheque that Mr. Gandhi has been giving me for the last 25 years, it is useless. Why not you and I meet and put our heads together? If you make a practical proposition, we present a common united demand to Mr. Amery, or, for the matter of that, to the British Parliament or the British nation if you like.

**An Honourable Member**: No response from the Congress Party.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: The Constituent Assembly is a panacea for all the ills of India. Complete Independence. My complaint is — then you stick to that, Godspeed! stick to it honestly: I may agree with you or I may not agree with you, but you will command my admiration and respect; stick to it; and if you do not want to stick to it, then come down on earth and let us deal, as practical men, and face the realities, as Mr. Bhulabhai Desai says, and do not allow others to take advantage — as the *Manchester Guardian* says — a British Journal — "frankly, our power and position in India is due to the mistake of

the others, and it will continue if you go on making this mistake." The position is this. I am only dealing with the present. I am not dealing with the future.

There is one last sentence and I will finish. When we talk of this little innocent baby which is put forward, *viz.*, the demand for a National Government responsible to the elected Members of this Legislature, there are far-reaching implications when you examine it in detail – far reaching implications. It will mean fundamental alterations and changes in the Constitution in order to constitute that Cabinet; and when that Cabinet is constituted, it will be responsible to the elected Members of the Legislature. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai throughout his speech only emphasized two things: "Democracy, democracy, democracy and a National Government! What is the use? Whatever that cabinet may be, it will be responsible to this Legislature – in which Mr. Bhulabhai Desai can command two-thirds of the elected Members. I will pity the man who happens to be in that Cabinet who does not obey the Congress command and the Congress mandate!

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1940, Vol.IV, pp. 298, 305-306, 311, 379-80, 419, Vol. V. pp. 816-828*

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## 402

### Speech inaugurating the first Conference of the Delhi Muslim Students' Federation, Delhi, November 23, 1940.

"The spokesmen of the British Government have recently declared that the door for negotiations is still open. We, the Muslims, also re-echo the statement and say that door for negotiations is still open," thus declared Mr. Muhammad Ali

Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in inaugurating the first Conference of the Delhi Muslim Students' Federation.

Mr. Jinnah in the course of his address dealt with the position of the Muslims "*vis-a-vis*" the British Government and the Congress and reiterated the demand for "Pakistan".

Mr. Jinnah said: "We feel that it is not only Great Britain alone but also India, which is in danger. Situated as we are we feel that if Great Britain goes under and the machinery of the Government of India breaks down there was real danger to all of us. Apart from other reasons, we do not want the Nazis to win this war. We want Great Britain to win this war. There was no question of our changing our masters. We want to take our freedom from Great Britain. For that reason, we, from the beginning, did not place any obstacles in the way of Great Britain.

**Muslim Demand**

"For instance, in spite of the fact that 'Pakistan' is our sheet anchor, we did not demand 'Pakistan' as a condition precedent for our whole-hearted support to the British Government. We only asked for an assurance that the British Government would not let us down by entering into an agreement, either interim or final, with the Congress. It was to be purely a war contract without prejudice to the position of the conflicting parties now or in the future.

"We promise to give great deal in men, money and other materials, in fact the whole-hearted support of 90,000,000 of the Muslims. I am prepared to bring to the common pool all this but I must have equal but real and effective share in the power. This is described as 'uncompromising proposals of Mr. Jinnah' by the apologists of the wooden and ante-diluvian Government of India. They want our support on the assurance that we shall be

remembered as loyal servants after the war and will even be given a '*Bakshish*.'"

Referring to Congress, Mr. Jinnah said that every honest Muslim was now convinced that the Congress "which is a Hindu body" and the Congress High Command has had only one objective in view, namely the establishment of a Hindu "Raj'" in India and domination of the Muslims and all the other minorities. He referred to the statements of Dr. Moonje and Dr. Savarkar, who had declared that the Muslims were like Jews in Germany and should be treated as such, and said the Congress nationalism was a perverted nationalism. If it only gave up its pretence of nationalism, it would provide no place to so many "show-boys of other communities within its fold."

**Inordinate Congress Claim**

The Congress wants independence for which it demands a declaration from the British Government. Does history know of any country or nation, which has won its freedom or independence by the declaration by a foreign power? Independence can only be had by qualifying for it. It can only be wrested and captured.

The fact is that the Congress wants domination of India under the shelter of British bayonets. The Congress wants power, but for coercing other communities. To-day it is attempting to coerce the British Government to surrender power to it. It is a process of blackmail. The Government knows it and we know.

But British Government dare not throw the Muslims at the mercy of the Congress or the Hindus. They will rue the day if they do so.

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said: "What do the Muslims want? For the last 25 years they have made repeated and honest attempts at some honourable settlement. This settlement has

not yet been reached in spite of the professed desire of the Hindu leaders and the Congress. In fact Hindu-Muslim unity was one of the important items in the constructive programme of the Congress. And yet instead of getting united, they have been moving further and further away. The reason is that the Congress and the Hindus want a settlement under which they could dominate whole of India. The Muslims on the other hand want equal share in freedom, independence and in the future Government of India. This is a fundamental difference between the standpoint of the Hindus and the Muslims. This is why we have failed in taking over a joint responsible Government from the British.

**Terrible Experience of Ram Raj**

"Meanwhile, we had a terrible experience of the Congress rule and the last flicker of a settlement, in accordance with the conception of the Congress was dashed to the ground. It will take very long to forgive the Congress for it, though it will never be forgotten. We now invite the Hindu brethren that as honest, practical statesmen we must revise our notions of settlement in the light of experience and lessons we have learnt during the last 25 years.

"The Hindus must give up their dream of a Hindu 'Raj' and agree to divide India into Hindu homeland and Muslim homeland. To-day we are prepared to take only one-fourth of India and leave three-fourth to them. If they continue to bargain, they may not be able to have this three-fourth. 'Pakistan' was our goal to-day, for which the Muslims of India will live for and if necessary die for. It is not a counter for bargaining."

He appealed to the Muslim young men to prepare themselves and to make themselves fit to achieve this goal. "Our hope depends on the young men of the Muslim nation."

*The Star of India, November 25, 1940.*

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# 403

## Speech at a public meeting, Delhi, November 30, 1940

"What are the war aims of the Congress against the British Government?" asked Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a public meeting held under the auspices of the Arabic College Students Union.

Giving a detailed reply to the question, Mr. Jinnah said, it had been claimed that the civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress was for the freedom and independence of India. Was it really for the freedom and independence of India? Mahatma Gandhi, writing as late as October 29 last year, said that if the British left India, the Punjabis from North and the Gurkhas would over-run the country. When he said Punjabis, he really meant Mussalmans, and he went on to say that if anybody desired to maintain the supremacy of the British in India it was the Congress, which was the only representative and authoritative organisation of the people of India.

### Coercing The Government

"I am unable to accept that the Hindus and the Congress are fighting for the independence or freedom of the people of the country, declared Mr. Jinnah. We know why they have launched the civil disobedience movement. The British Government know why. It is to coerce the British Government to recognise the Congress as the only authoritative and representative organisation of the people of India. The Congress says: 'Come to settlement with us. We are your friends; we desire to maintain your supremacy in this country. Come to terms with us and ignore the Mussalmans and other minorities.'

Mr. Bhulalbhai Desai after he had an interview with Mr.

Gandhi is reported to have appealed to Musslamans and other non-Congressmen not to put any obstacles in their way. He said in effect: 'Let the Congress fight this out in its own way.' May I ask the Congress High Command of which Mr. Desai is a member — he is also the Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly — to tell us what are the war aims of the Congress against the British Government? We feel that the war aims of the Congress are to put all the pressure in that they can on the British Government and coerce them, so that they may coerce us and let us down and throw us to the wolves. That is the war aim of the Congress. I ask them, why follow this ostrich policy? How can we possibly be deceived?

**Serious Anxiety**

The whole effort of the Congress, Mr. Jinnah went on, seems to me to be like that of a bat which has entered a room and flies round and round knocking against the walls but will not, cannot see, that the door is wide open. That is what the policy of the Congress is like. It is, therefore, not possible for us to view this movement with equanimity. We must view it with serious anxiety. I say to Mussalmans, please don't get mixed up or involved in this terrible situation for which the Congress alone is responsible. But if we find at any time that our interests are at stake we cannot remain as onlookers and spectators but we shall play our part and intervene, if necessary. Let that be understood.

**Muslims Have Grown Up**

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah referred to statements frequently made in the press by Congressmen and declared that these would not help. Congress leaders say that they are willing to make. Mr. Jinnah or any Muslim League nominee Prime Minister of India. They say, 'Let Muslims have all the power. We do not want power. We are ready to accept Muslim rule rather than British rule.' Can any man with a grain of sense believe

this? No. The Mussalmans have grown up. They are different totally, fundamentally, radically different from what they were three years ago, and I am as sure as I am standing here that five years hence they will be more different still.

**League Strength**

Earlier, in his speech, Mr. Jinnah referred to the great accession of strength that the League had obtained during the past three years and pointed out that that imposed a heavy responsibility. It is that responsibility which I want you to discharge in a manner which will make the Muslim League grow from strength to strength and success to success and achieve its goal.

He exhorted his hearers to realise both their shortcomings and their strength, and make constructive efforts to remove the former and added to the latter. (A.P.).

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 3, 1940.*

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## 404

### Speech at a public meeting, Bombay, December 8, 1940.

"If the Congress wants to achieve independence there is no other way of doing it except by the two communities agreeing to live as separate entities. 'Pakistan' is the only way to India's freedom" declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing a public meeting.

Mr. Jinnah warned the Congress leaders against the eventuality of Mr. Gandhi or the Congress successfully coercing the British Government into promising a Constitution which might reduce the Muslims to a position of slavery. He said the Muslims would never allow such a situation to develop.

Mr. Jinnah gave an assurance that in the Muslim-governed zones the minorities would not be coerced in any way. They would be allowed the freedom to retain their own language, culture and religion.

Mr. Jinnah also assured the Muslim minorities in Hindu zones that their condition would be bettered under the "Pakistan" scheme, as there would be reciprocity in the matter of treatment of Hindu minorities in the Muslim Provinces.

What the 90,000,000 Muslims now clamoured for, Mr. Jinnah said, was the establishment of separate Muslim States in the North-West and North-East of India where they could manage their own affairs. The Muslims desired to live in peace and on friendly terms with the Hindus, but there could be no hope of a settlement of the communal question so long as the idea of majority rule was not banished from the minds of the Congress High Command.

Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to take their due share in the industrial development that was going on in the country as a result of the war. He urged them to show enterprise in the economic sphere. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, December 9, 1940.*

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## 405

### Speech at a public meeting exposing the designs of the Congress Party and the real motive of the Satyagraha Movement, Karachi, December 15, 1940.

**Fundamental Changes**

"The failure of the Viceroy's and Mr. Amery's efforts is due to the weak, vacillating and indecisive policy of the British

Government", declared Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah added: "Mr. Gandhi's, the Congress's and the Hindu Mahasabha's demands not only involve immediate fundamental Constitutional changes of a far-reaching character but have for their basic principle avowedly the domination of a permanent Hindu majority even for the formation of a provisional government. If the British Government surrenders to those demands, it means that the Muslims and other minorities must come under the yoke of the Congress and act according to and submit to the will of the Congress.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said, "our resistance and refusal to accept that position is totally misrepresented and unjustly characterised as claiming a veto. We are asked to play a game the rules of which are to be framed by the Congress with a loaded dice. This position we cannot accept."

**Pistol Of Satyagraha**

Mr. Jinnah proceeded: "The present position is that Mahatma Gandhi instead of negotiating has resorted to satyagraha and is holding the pistol of satyagraha. The Hindu Mahasabha is seriously considering how soon they should resort to stayagraha if their demands are not satisfied by the British Government and yet the Muslim League on behalf of the Muslims – because it urges and points out that it cannot accept the position of a minority and that it must have an equal share in order to secure full, wholehearted and enthusiastic support of Muslim India in the prosecution of the war successfully—is considered in certain quarters as adopting an uncompromising attitude, and we are daily misrepresented by false and vigorous propaganda of our opponents. This is not going to unnerve us. We know our cause is right and just. No amount of propaganda can succeed on the foundation of falsehood and misrepresentation.

Explaining the Pakistan scheme, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Pakistan is the only solution of Hindu-Muslim tension. Wherever the Hindus are in a minority they are being told they will have to migrate *en massi* to the Hindu majority provinces. This is all wrong. Under the Pakistan Scheme it will be our duty to protect the rights of the minorities and we shall expect the same treatment from the Hindus in their majority provinces. If the Congress and the Mahasahba concurred it would mean a majority rule in India and in this they will never succeed because we shall refuse any such Constitution and shall not allow it to be forced down our throats.

"In Muslim majority provinces viz: Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab and the N.W.F.P, Muslims should be allowed to establish their own rule. This is not merely an opinion but an article of faith. The acid test of a Government can only be when you have satisfied the minorities. Muslims in India cannot be called a minority. They are in an overwhelming majority in five provinces and you cannot hold them there as a minority.

**Only Solution**

The day will come when even the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha will realise that the only solution is Pakistan. Hindu India will comprise twenty crores and Muslim India eight crores. The Hindus may have some schemes for their own betterment and Muslims for their own.

Mr. Jinnah urged Muslims to organise themselves and appealed to them to carry out the constructive programme of upliftment of the Muslim masses educationally, socially, politically and economically with their own Press and propaganda machinery.

He concluded: "Our only course is that we must organise ourselves and stand united." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 17, 1940.*

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## 406

### Speech in reply to the Civic Address, Karachi, December 19, 1940.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah received an address of welcome from the Karachi Municipal Corporation this evening in the presence of a large gathering, including the Premier, Mir Bunde Ali Talpur and the Ministers.

Replying to the address Mr. Jinnah appealed to Hindus and Muslims to live like friends and work together for the advancement and amelioration of the condition of the people of the Province which was his birth-place and assured the citizens that he would utilise his presence there to that end.

*The Star of India, December 20, 1940.*

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## 407

### Speech at a dinner party given in his honour by the Council of the Sind Anglo-Indian Association, Karachi, December 19, 1940.

The assurance that the Muslim League would extend support to the Anglo-Indian community within the Muslim majority provinces if the community aligned themselves with Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces was given by Mr. Jinnah at a dinner party given in his honour by members of the Council of the Sind Anglo-Indian Association. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, December 20, 1940.*

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## 408

### Statement regarding formation of coalition ministries in the provinces, Karachi, December 23, 1940.

In connection with a recent message of the "Associated Press" from Patna Mr. M.A. Jinnah has issued the following statement:-

"My attention has been drawn to a message which has been broad-cast from Patna to the effect that the Muslim League would not form a coalition ministry in any of the provinces at present directly administered by the Governor unless the other elements in the coalition agree to the principle of "Pakistan" and command substantial Hindu support enough to ensure the stability of the ministry.

It is stated that I communicated these conditions in reply to an enquiry made in this connection by Khan Bahadur S.M. Ismail, President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League after his recent discussions with Mr. M. N. Roy on the possibility of forming a coalition ministry in Bihar.

"This report is entirely untrue. No communication of any kind has taken place between me and Khan Bahadur Ismail in this connection." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, December 24, 1940.*

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## 409

### Birthday Message, Karachi, December 24, 1940

"I appreciate very much, indeed, the concern that the Muslims of India have shown me personally on the occasion of

my birthday and all their support to the policy of All-India Muslim League. It is, indeed, a source of very great encouragement to me. We have now been working for more than three years and our achievements in the political field have been most encouraging. Hitherto, we have been considered as a mere minority, scattered and unorganised, but now we have proved that we are united and a nation as well as any other nation of the world. We have now to prove to the world that we are fit to govern and achieve our goal as laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as Pakistan. Our organisation, which is undoubtedly the only authoritative and representative body of the Muslims of India, has given us a flag, a platform, a programme and a cherished goal, which we are determined to fight for and, if necessary, to die for. But we have yet to do many things before we can achieve our political emancipation.

"I would, therefore, appeal to our people to organise themselves and to keep themselves prepared. The time has come when we should extend our activities to other aspects of life. We should take up constructive programmes for the betterment of our people, educationally, socially, economically and physically.

"I would, specially appeal to the Muslim students and the intelligentsia to be up and doing. The prosperity and advancement of a nation depend upon its intelligentsia, and Muslim India is looking forward to her young generation and the educated classes to give a bold lead for our guidance and a brilliant record of historical achievements and traditions. Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty, and if we realise our responsibility time will come soon when we shall justify ourselves worthy of a glorious past.(A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 25, 1940.*

# 410

## Statement issued to Associated Press on Sind situation, Karachi, December 25, 1940.

"The recent resolutions of the Sind Provincial Muslim League have directed organisation of the Muslim League inside and outside the Legislature, and they made it clear that Muslims will not accept a measure which purports to introduce a system of joint electorates for local boards and municipalities for reasons already given. It is against the resolution of the All-India Muslim League and it is an All-India question and, therefore, no province has any right to come to a decision or any agreement contrary to the resolution of the All-India Muslim League without their sanction.

"I hope the Sind Assembly and the Government will not force the issue at this juncture. There are many more vital matters which are awaiting Sind to take up as a real, solid, constructive and ameliorative programme of legislation for the betterment and uplift of the people of this province.

"I tried to understand the Sind situation during my stay in Karachi and I had many opportunities of meeting various people belonging to all communities in Sind and also prominent Muslim and Hindu leaders, and I gather that the Congress, with the support of small clique behind it, is determined at any cost and irrespective of the consequences to this province, to prevent the Muslim League organising itself as a party within the Legislature and functioning outside in harmony and co-operation with Hindus both inside and outside the Legislature.

### Congress Aim

"One aim of the Congress in this province seems particularly to create disruption and disunity between Muslims, although a large body of Hindus disapprove of it and in fact are

opposed to such manoeuvers. This is most unfortunate and, what is more, it is perfectly futile and will not succeed. There is not the slightest doubt that Muslims are solidly behind the Muslim League in this province and Hindus of this province will not encourage or support these machinations of the Congress. I sincerely hope that thoughtful and better mind of Hindus will work together with Muslims peacefully and for a real advance and betterment of the people of this province. I am confident and it is obvious that nothing on earth will prevent the Muslim League being organised, and why should not the Muslim League organise itself? There is a Congress party in the Assembly, and outside there is Hindu party. What is wrong in the Muslims organising themselves and establishing a party in the Legislature and augmenting and strengthening the Muslim League outside the Legislature? I sincerely hope that in the paramount interests of this province better counsels will prevail. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 27, 1940.*

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## 411

### Speech at the Sir Lesli Wilson Muslim Hostel, Karachi, December 25, 1940.

"It is absurd on the face of it to ask a foreign power to give us independence by a mere declaration and, secondly, it is impossible for any outside power to hold a nation in slavery if the people of that country are fit for independence," declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah speaking at the Sir Lesli Wilson Muslim Hostel, before a large audience. The Hon. Sheikh Abdul Majid, Minister for Education, presided.

At the outset Mr. Jinnah said that he was engaged for the last three days in a complicated case and it had been a great

strain on him. Even then he would take this opportunity to report to the students about the present political situation in this country.

When the war broke out on September 3, 1939, India became a belligerent country. The question of declaring war did not rest with India and according to the present Constitutional position the declaraton of the Viceroy that India was at war was sufficient. On this occasion the Viceroy had summoned Mr. Gandhi and himself also with other leaders for consultation regarding the expansion of his Executive Council.

**First Call**

Before 1936 the Muslims of India were almost dead for they had no policy, no programme, no press and no platform. They were, as it were living in "no man's land." This was the first time when he was invited for consultation by the Viceroy as the President of the Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah said that during the leadership of Mr. Gandhi for the last 20 years, the Congress had steadily acquired increasing influence acquired and organisation and in the elections of 1936 it came into power in many provinces. During the 20 years the Muslims were dead and they had no organisation of their own. Before that time there were two parties in the country – the bureaucracy and the Congress. The only organisation against the Government was the Congress. The result was that many leaders were thrust upon the Muslims. Some of them went to the Government camp and got titles and other positions as they thought that their chances were with the bureaucrats. The others with an academic trend of mind went to the Congress camp and donned the "*khadi*" cap.

In 1936, when the new Constituation came into operation, some of Muslims thought about the position of Muslims in India under the new Act. They get together and

framed a programme policy and the machinery to contest the last general elections. From April 1936 to a few days before September 1939 they had to fight against all odds.

**Constituent Assembly**

Referring to the resolution of October 10, 1939, of the Congress Mr. Jinnah said that the resolution demanded freedom and independence for the Indian nation and a future Constitution of India to be determined by a Constitution Assembly elected on the widest possible franchise, and added the resolution to the satisfaction of the minorities. But nothing was said as to how that satisfaction was to be given to the minorities. It was no use being carried away by mere words. What were the demands of the Congress? They were of such a nature as no foreign power would give by a mere declaration.

Firstly, it was absurd on the face of it to ask a foreign power to give independence and secondly, it was impossible to hold a people in slavery if they were fit for independence. Freedom was to be achieved by placing all people together on a common ground. He had not the slightest doubt that Muslim India would come under the domination of a Hindu majority even if the Muslim representatives were elected to the Constituent Assembly on the basis of separate electorates. This grand national body was to contain representatives where one Muslim was to be faced by three Hindus. The Muslims would have no rights to frame their own Constitution because they would be carried away by the majority in the Constituent Assembly.

**League And War**

The League did not want to interfere in the war efforts at present. They were convinced that India was imperilled by a common danger, and the Muslims were prepared to place all their resources at the disposal of the Government. But in order

to carry the people with them, it was necessary that they should have a voice in the management of the war efforts, and they impressed this upon the British Government. This principle was accepted by the British Government and for this purpose they wanted to expand the Executive Council of the Viceroy.

The Congress rejected the offer offhand. The Government had, however, given an assurance that major political parties would be consulted before any Constitutional advance. But which were the political parties to be consulted. The Congress was a Hindu party and represented the solid Hindu population and the Muslims were left out, whose co-operation was necessary for increasing the war efforts. At present the Congress was not co-operating, had resigned offices and had started Civil Disobedience Movement. This pistol was held at the head of the British Government with the avowed purpose of forcing their hands to submit to the will of the Congress.

**Mahasabha And Muslims**

Enunciating the League stand Mr. Jinnah said that the position was that they wanted freedom and self-Government, freedom for Hindus as well as Muslims and not freedom for the Hindus and slavery for the Muslims. Hindu policy was clear and Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Moonje had not minced matters when they had openly declared that the Muslims of India were like the Jews of Germany. The only differences between the Hindus' Sabha and the Congress was that the former did not mince matters while the latter said the same thing in a subtle way. Mr. Sathyamurthi also in one of his recent speeches has said; "The acid test of Mr. Amery's ability would be to tell the Muslims, — No "Pakistan," no impossible safeguards, you must settle with the majority."

If the League had not succeeded in convincing many people of this danger of the Hindu Raj it was because they

lacked organisation, the press and finance. But it will not take very long now. The League has been working only for the last three years while the Congress had been carrying on its work for the last 25 years.

**Pakistan**

Answering to a question on "Pakistan" Mr. Jinnah said that India was not a national state but it was a state of nationalities. The country was at present governed by a semi-bureaucratic unitary Government and the power behind it was the force of the British Government. At present the Hindus did not trust the Muslims, and a Hindu leader had been suggested to the Home Member to the Government of India to have Hindu overseers over Muslims and Muslim overseers over Hindu who were in Census Operations Department. In this atmosphere the Hindus wanted domination and how therefore Muslims could be expected to trust the Hindus when there was a question of framing India's Constitution by means of the Constituent Assembly.

The only solution therefore was "Pakistan," which was already there and was not of his own creation. The Muslims wanted their states in the North and the East which formed only one fourth of the whole country, and wanted the Hindus to take over the rest, for that was the only solution for their everlasting friendship. And they could give a mutual assurance and pledge about treating the various minorities in the two kingdoms as a sacred trust.

**Congress Offer**

Mr. Jinnah was interrupted at this juncture by a voice which said: Why do you not accept the Congress offer?

Mr. Jinnah replying said that they did not want to accept the Congress offer because he felt that the Congress aimed at domination where Hindus were in majority and also in

the provinces where the Muslims were in a majority, because the Hindu minority would always appeal to the Central Government which would contain a majority of the Hindus.

Over two years rule by the Congress had been years of tyranny for the Muslims. On the other hand if the Muslim minorities are oppressed under the Hindu majority provinces whom would they appeal to? Who would be the court of appeal for them? Surely not the Central Government which is already dominated by the Hindu majority.

In conclusion, Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslims would achieve their goal only when they produced unselfish workers for their cause, and he hoped that Sind would also produce a few sons who would work for their brothers, and if they did not, God alone could help this province. (F.O.C.)

*The Star of India, December 26, 1940*

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## 412

### Speech at a public meeting, Ahmedabad, December 27, 1940.

"Pakistan is not far off. Every Mussalman in every town and village is ready to sacrifice for Pakistan" declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing a public meeting of over 50,000 Mussalmans.

He said that Dr. Moonje talked of Hindu nation, Hindu rule and Hindu kingdom. While the Hindu Mahasabha spoke mainly, the Congress spoke subtly but they both spoke the same thing in substance and letter. The Congress spoke of democracy, joint electorates and national government responsible to the elected members of the Legislature. If that was accepted, it meant Hindu Kingdom and Hindu Raj. The Congress was ready

to give separate electorates to the Mussalmans as a favour, but in the end it meant three Hindus and one Mussalman in the Central Government. The Mussalmans had enough foretaste of the Congress Raj in seven provinces.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that democracy was entirely alien to Hindu life and society. They talked of democracy merely for the purpose of votes. He quoted the instance of six crores of untouchables to say nothing about Mussalmans from whose hands they would not take water or food. Every ingredient of democracy was lacking in Hindu society.

Pakistan, went on Mr. Jinnah, had existed for ages. Their homelands were in the north-west and the east where the Mussalmans were even to-day in a majority of 70 percent. In these regions there should be independent Muslim states so that they could lead their own life in consonance with their own religion, culture and laws. Six and a half crores of Mussalmans of the nine crores of Mussalmans in India inhabited these parts, whereas the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress wanted the whole of India to dominate over the Mussalmans by establishing a unitary Central Government with the result that in seven Hindu provinces the Mussalmans would remain in a minority of from seven to 14 percent at the most, entirely under the domination of Hindu rule. Any appeal against injustice to the Central Government would be like falling from the frying pan into the fire, as in the Central Government there would be a Hindu majority under the mathematical calculation of democracy.

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said that this was a position which could never be accepted by them, and if it was forced upon them, it would never work and lead to greater disaster than ever before in India. Pakistan was the quickest way of achieving freedom for both the majority nations. The Mussalmans should not be afraid of being crushed by the Hindu majority provinces.

Let us in the minority provinces, Mr. Jinnah said "face our fate, but free the Muslim Majority provinces to live and form their own government in independent states in accordance with Islamic laws." (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 29, 1940.*

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## 413

### Speech at a Public Meeting, Ahmedabad, December 28, 1940

"India should be partitioned so that Hindus and Muslims may live as friends and good neighbours and develop according to their own genius," declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah addressing a crowded public meeting under the auspices of the Muslim Students Union in the Mangaldas Memorial Hall.

**Unitary Government Idea Dead**

He said that if the Hindus tried to get the whole of India, they would lose the whole, but if they gave one-third to the Muslims they would get two-thirds. The Muslim minorities in the Hindu provinces would put up with their fate, but they would not stand in the way of Muslim majority provinces becoming free. Mr. Jinnah did not ask the Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces to migrate *en masse* to Pakistan when it was established. What he wanted was that over the Muslim majority provinces where there was already in existence Pakistan, there should be no control of a central government with a Hindu majority. The idea of a unitary central government was dead, but if it was revived the Muslims would resist it, as the Hindu minorities in the Muslim provinces would make it impossible for the government to run with the aid of the central government with the Hindu majority at their back, and the Muslim majority would be virtually feudatories of the central government in all

respects.

**Hindu Raj**

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that the Hindu Mahasabha openly and bluntly stood for Hindu raj over the entire sub-continent. The Congress talked of democracy, joint electorates and a national government responsible to the elected members of the Legislature. Democracy did not exist anywhere in the world in the strict sense of the word. Even in England it was the ruling class that governed, but in India even such a democracy was not possible. There was nothing in common between Hindus and Muslims socially and culturally, to say nothing about religion. Where was the substance of a nation and expression of national will upon which even the diluted so-called democracy that obtained in England could be adopted in India?

**Muslims And National Government**

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that a national government responsible to the elected members of the Legislature at the Centre could only be formed at the dictate of the permanent Hindu majority, and the Muslims and other small minorities would entirely be at the mercy of Hindu raj. Mr. Jinnah wondered whether Mr. Gandhi would be happy over such a state of things. Even two brothers in a joint family had many a time found it impossible to live together and partition had restored peace and better relations between them. Why should they be denied division of India when they knew and were convinced that they could not live peacefully having regard to the far more vital differences and antagonism in culture, religion and social polife than ever could exist between two brothers of the same family? (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, December 31, 1940.*

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# 1941

## 414

### Statement to the press regarding interview with Dr. Mukerjee, January 2, 1941.

Interviewed by the United Press as to the trend of discussion Mr. Jinnah said that in reply to Dr. Mukerjee's* question whether the scheme for complete cultural autonomy for different communities guaranteed by the constitution would not meet Mr. Jinnah's point of view he told Mr. Mukerjee that so long as the Central Government was unitary it would be impossible to talk in terms of autonomy of units. He said: The question is not merely cultural but of political, economic and social problems which can only be solved according to our genius in our homelands, provided that they are independent states and in no way under the control of any centre for all India. Safeguards, constitutional or otherwise, will be of no use. So long as there is communal Hindu majority at the centre, safeguard will remain on paper. Therefore I think of nothing better or more suitable having regard to the conditions and realities than separation of Muslims in my proposed homelands.

**Mutual Danger**

Questioned by Dr. Mukerjee if such independent Muslim states might with the help of other Muslim Powers be a danger to Hindu India, Mr. Jinnah said: The Muslims in such separated homelands in the first instance would be very foolish indeed to invite some other Muslims Power to rule over their homelands, government of which would be in their own hands. It is quite clear that tendency now is more towards territorial sovereignty as history and development of Muslim Sovereign

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* Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, b. January 20, 1884, d. September 9, 1963 Professor of History at the Lucknow University, interviewed Mr. Jinnah on the subject of the future constitution of India.

Powers in the East and the Far East have recently shown. Therefore, on the contrary, I am sure that Hindu India will find Muslim India not only a friendly neighbour but will defend India against foreign invasion and in that case, so to say, Monroe Doctrine will come into action in the interests of both Hindu India and Muslim India. And in that sense I want to say that North-West Muslim Independent states should be counted as India's outposts on the frontier. (U.P.)

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## 415

### Address to a joint meeting of the Muslim Progress Society and Muslim Youth Majlis, Bombay, January 3, 1941.

Reiterating the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an address to the Muslim Progress Society and Muslim Youth Majlis asked whether it was possible to have unitary Central Government all over the sub-continent of India which would govern the 400 million people. The system would have a proportion of three Hindus to one Muslim which would mean that the fiat and writ of the Hindus will be forced on all. Democracy and adult franchise in this country, situated as they were, would mean a Hindu raj.

**No Domination**

Explaining the scheme of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said that they were not out for dominating the whole of India and they had no machinations and designs to dominate the Hindus. What the Muslim League wanted was that the Muslims should have opportunity to have their own governments in the two zones which they considered as their homelands and develop their own culture. He wished Godspeed to the Hindus to have their own

governments in the other parts and develop according to their own genius.

**Willing To Face His Fate**

Referring to the Muslims who would be in a minority in some of the provinces, Mr. Jinnah said that their position need not cause any alarm. He asked them whether by subjecting the six and a half crores of Muslims who were in a majority in those two zones to remain in a minority in an All-India unitary government, the remaining two and a half crores of Muslims spread over the other provinces were going to be benefited. He was for his part, declared Mr. Jinnah, willing to face his fate in the province where he was in a minority, but would release Muslims who were in majority in the Pakistan from Hindu domination and remaining in perpetual minority.

**Better Atmosphere**

Mr. Jinnah asserted that he had not yet heard any genuine arguments advanced against the Pakistan scheme and said that by the consummation of Pakistan a better atmosphere would prevail in the country. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, he said, want the whole of India. They will never get it but they will get probably two-thirds if they will not be greedy and give us one-third and be done with it.

**Muslim Status Raised**

Earlier in his speech, Mr. Jinnah reviewed the progress of the Muslim League for the past few years and claimed that the League had raised the Muslims to dignity, strength and self-respect and had entitled them to be recognised as one of the major parties in the discussion and consideration of any future constitution for this country. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 5, 1941.*

## 416

### Interview to a London newspaper, Bombay, January 3, 1941.

"The British Government, the Parliament and the British public would make the greatest mistake if they were carried away by the Congress propaganda that the demand of the Muslim India for Pakistan was merely put forward as a counter for bargaining or for treating it as the uncompromising attitude of the Muslim League", said Mr. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an interview to a London newspaper.

Mr. Jinnah added: "It is a pity, that the Secretary of State seems to have indulged in dubious speeches after his authoritative announcement of August 14 last and particularly his last speech regarding his slogan 'India first'. It may do well as propaganda, but it is likely to shake the confidence of the Muslims, who have through their organisation adopted so far an attitude of benevolent neutrality. For the Secretary of State to play the role of a propaganda agency is highly unreasonable, as his pronouncements ordinarily cannot be separated from his authority and position as the Secretary of State reflecting the policy of His Majesty's Government". (F.O.C.)

*The Star of India, January 4, 1941.*

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## 417

### Message to the Secunderabad Youngmen's Muslim Association on the occasion of Id, Bombay, January 5, 1941.

"I cannot emphasise too much the need of education and of organization of Muslims wherever they may be," says Mr.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President of the Muslim League in a message to Mr. S.K. Brahanullah, General Secretary of the Secunderabad Youngmen's Muslim Association on the occasion of the Id festival.

Mr. Jinnah adds"- "Education is the first step towards the collective uplift of Muslims economically, socially and politically. It is only by educating our people that we will mould them into a thoroughly disciplined, trained and organised people."

*The Star of India, January 11, 1941.*

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## 418

### Speech at the annual meeting of the Muslim Educational Service League, Bombay, January 10, 1941.

"The view that India would be able to lay down a Monroe Doctrine for the country once the Hindus and Muslims had made up their differences and were settled in their 'respective homelands,' was expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, speaking to a large gathering at the annual meeting of the Muslim Educational Service League at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall in Bombay.

The best and quickest way of getting freedom for India and retaining that freedom, declared Mr. Jinnah, was to partition the country between Muslims and Hindus. "We shall then look upon each other as friendly neighbours. If Gandhi is alive and I, too, am alive, we will both say to the world: 'Hands off India."

Reiterating the demand for 'Pakistan.' Mr. Jinnah appealed to Hindus to approach the problem besetting the

country with a fresh mind and to get away from old ideas. That was the only way to tackle it. In this fast moving world, there was the greatest need for scrapping old pacts and drawing up new agreements.

Mr. Jinnah then referred to the various parties in this country. The Hindu Mahasabha, he said, was the loudest in calling upon the British Government to declare that they would have nothing to do with the Pakistan scheme He wondered why the Mahasabha should ask for such a declaration from the British Government.

The burden of the Congress demand for democracy also amounted to Hindu rule. The talk of democracy and majority rule was understandable in a single community, or a single society; but democracy of the British type in India meant domination of one community by the other.

Was that a sound basis of any constitution for India? he asked.

"Armchair politicians," said Mr. Jinnah, "were now demanding a declaration of Dominion Status after the war. I have begun to suspect even these miscellaneous organisations. I fear that their demand is for a unitary type of Government for India."

Earlier, Mr. Jinnah had impressed on his audience the importance of liquidating illiteracy among the Muslim masses. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 12, 1941.*

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## 419

### Statement regarding Census, Bombay, January 11, 1941.

*In view of the numerous enquiries form various parts of India that Mr. Jinnah has been receiving as to how the Muslims should help the census authorities in order to secure their correct number in the population of this subcontinent, and in view of the fact that on January 11 a deputation of Young Men's Muslim Association, Bombay consisting of Mr. Kiledar, M.L.A., J.P., Mr. A.H. Ismail and Mr. Hanif Maniar, waited on Mr. Jinnah in this connection, he has issued the following statement:-*

"I fully recognise the great importance of the ensuing census and I appeal to the Muslims not only in my own city, Bombay, but throughout India to offer and extend all the assistance and help of co-operation to the authorities and Census officers concerned.

"I wish to emphasise particularly the following questions:

**Question No.3**. Race Tribe or caste.

The answer by every Muslim should be that he is a Muslim.

**Question No. 43**. Religion.

The answer should be Islam.

**Question No. 18**. Mother Tongue.

The answer should be Urdu: but if he or she does not know Urdu at all, then such other language as he or she may know.

"Lastly every head of every household should take every possible care to give the correct number of the members of the household. I hope that organised efforts will be made all over

India."

Mr. Jinnah thanked the deputation for their trouble in coming over to him and having placed before him the matter and explaining to him how they were going to co-operate and help the authorities. (F.O.C.)

*The Star of India, January 18, 1941.*

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## 420

### Reply to an address presented by the Kalyan Municipal Council, Kalyan, January 12, 1941.

"By free exchange of views and discussions we should succeed in hammering out a peaceful solution of India's constitutional problems," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to an address presented to him by the Kalyan* Municipal Council.

Mr. Jinnah added that they wanted fairplay and justice. He assured the audience that the Muslim League had no designs which would prejudice the interests of the Hindu community. He said that he had succeeded to a certain extent in awakening the Muslims of India. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 14, 1941.*

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## 421

### Speech at a public meeting of the Muslims of Kalyan, Kalyan, January 12, 1941.

At a public meeting of the Muslims of Kalyan, held

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* Kalyan is about 50 Kilometers from Bombay.

under the auspices of the Kalyan Primary Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah explained the Pakistan scheme and asked the Muslims of Kalyan to rally round the flag of the Muslim League and do constructive and useful work for the uplift and betterment of the Muslims.

*Subsequently, a resolution was passed expressing confidence in Mr. Jinnah's leadership.* (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 14, 1941.*

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## 422

### Message to the Bohra Students of Karachi, Bomby, January 14, 1941.

"I am glad to learn that Bohra Students of Karachi are doing their bit for the educational uplift of the Muslim Community. It is needless to emphasis the importance of education. In fact the welfare and progress of a nation depends to a very great extent upon its intelligentsia and its young generation, and their could be no question that students play a very important part in the future destiny of the nation to which they belong. It is only by educating our people that we can train and equip them with a consciousness of their existence and infuse in them a spirit of sacrifice and selfless work – qualities which are an essential factor for the self determination and strength of character not only of an individual but also of a nation.

The time has come when we should emerge out from vague idealism and apply our minds to constructive programmes for the betterment of our people in every walk of life. Then alone we shall be sufficiently powerful and strong to resist the aggressive, harmful and alien forces which are working against us.

The time is approaching when the All-India Muslim League may have to call upon the Mussalmans to make great and real sacrifices for the realisation of our final goal. I am sure that our young men will not be found wanting or lagging behind when the call comes.

Mussalmans must assert themselves in this country and outside and although our enemies with the help of a few selfish Muslims are carrying on enormous false propaganda against us, yet, I am sure, that no power on earth can resist the onward rush of 90 millions who determined to materialise their ideal of Pakistan and to stand united on a soil which they can call and claim as their own homelands."

*QAP-F-769/p.438 &*
*The Star of India, January 20, 1941*

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## 423

### Message to the students of Lucknow University, Bombay, January 24, 1941.

"I hope that Muslim students will not participate in any strikes, protest meetings or any other activities directly or indirectly to support the Congress in this movement, as their avowed objective is to force the British Government to surrender to their demands which are highly detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims in the country," says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in reply to inquiries made by students of the Lucknow University.

Mr. Jinnah in the course of his letter says that he had already made it clear in his speech in Delhi while addressing a public meeting held under the auspices of the Arabic College Students' Union in November 30 last that the Muslims should keep aloof from the civil disobedience movement started by Mr.

Gandhi and the Congress and quotes relevant portions of his speech in Delhi. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, January 28, 1941.*

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## 424

### Message to "Sarfaraz" (Lucknow), Bombay, January 26, 1941.

"Let unity be our watchword at this juncture," says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of All-India Muslim League in a message to the "*Sarfaraz*", organ of the All-India Shia Political Conference, for its "Moharram" number.

Mr. Jinnah continues:- "Muslims must sink their differences, political and sectarian, and come within the fold of the All-India Muslim League, which is undoubtedly the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India.

We all must swim together. With united effort and co-ordinated activities we should try to concentrate and work for the advancement of our goal. Time demands us to shake off our lethargy and take up some constructive programme for building our nation and for the social, economic and educational advancement of our people." (A.P.I.).

*The Star of India, January 30, 1941.*

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## 425

### Statement releasing his correspondence with Mr. Fazlul Huq, Bombay, January 29, 1941.

Some day or other these communal difference will be

made up, but I do not see any reason why Muslim League should not take the wind out of the sails of other organisations and secure to itself the credit of having done the greatest possible service to India and her people says Mr. A.K. Fazal-ul-Haq, Premier of Bengal, in a letter addressed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, requesting him to convene a meeting of the Working Committee or of the Council, of the All India Muslim League to consider the communal problem.

The correspondence between Mr. Fazalul Haq and Mr. Jinnah on this subject has been released to the Press by Mr. Jinnah who in his reply to Mr. Haq refers to two public statements made by Mr. Haq and says that they conveyed the impression that Mr. Jinnah was not willing to come to settlement in respect of the unfortunate deadlock for which the Congress alone is responsible.

Mr. Jinnah in his letter further draws Mr. Haq's attention to his recent speech in the Central Assembly in connection with the Supplementary Finance Bill wherein he had clearly laid down the position of the Muslim League. "Apart from the wisdom of your having issued these statements and having appealed to members of the Council in the Press. I think your move will convey the impression in political quarters in India and England that the Mussalmans are divided as it has already been so interpreted in many quarters."

Mr. Fazlul Haq in a further letter to Mr. Jinnah reiterates his earlier proposal and adds "I was really asking you to take the lead and as head of the premier political organisation of India to call everybody else to meet you in order that they may be able to put their case before you and you may be in a position to discuss they problems with them across the table and come to a decision."

Denying that it was his intention to bring about disruption in the Muslim League, Mr. Haq says: "My only desire

has been for peace, because I feel that unless there is unity among all communities there will be no constitutional advance and no prospect of a better India. The present Government of India Act is absolutely rubbish. It gives us responsibility but no power. It gives all powers to Governors and the Governor-General. You can, therefore, easily understand how much we feel our position under the present constitution."

Mr. Jinnah in the course of his reply appreciates Mr. Huq's desire for peace and settlement and adds: 'When the other party has declared war and is holding a pistol at your head what do you propose that I should do? What do you think is the aim and object of the Congress in launching civil disobedience. Is it not obvious that they want to bend the British Government to surrender or yield to their demands? At whose cast? Over our head and at our cost.

Referring to certain Press surmises about the correspondence being published Mr. Jinnah wrote to Mr. Huq proposing the release of the correspondence. To his Mr. Huq replied that, while he had no objection to its publication, he doubted whether it would not worsen matters. In his opinion it would be better if Mr. Jinnah made a fresh statement pointing out the inaccuracies and give out the real facts. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, January 30, 1941.*

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## 426

### Statement in regard to Sind Affairs, Bombay, February 7, 1941.

"The Hindu and the Congress Press is misrepresenting the situation in Sind day in and day out. The correct facts as I have been able to ascertain are as follows:

The Congress party and the Hindu independent party concluded an agreement with few individual members of the assembly who belong to the Muslim League on the basis of a so-called 21 points along the understanding that they will maintain the Mir Ministry for the remaining period of the Assembly. Prior to this agreement the Muslims League party in the Assembly was disbanded as a condition precedent to the agreement forming the so called League Ministry consisting of Mir Bundeh Ali Khan, Shaikh Abdul Majid, K.B. Khurro, Syed and two other Hindu Ministers. Thereafter the Congress party commenced its treacherous manoeuvres towards the Mir Ministry soon after this agreement was arrived at. Up to the present moment there has been no change in their attitude. And the Hindu independent party adopted the same attitude after some time under the cover of murders in Rohri Division. They having succeeded in getting the Muslim League Party disbanded. The result was that only two Hindu parties functioned, namely the Congress and the Hindu independent party which gave them a strength of about twenty one together in a house of sixty. And with the help of Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and their individual following they were in a dominant position in the assembly and the ministry consisting of Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, Shaikh Abdul Majid and Syed and Khurro, who were individual members of the League and without any League party behind them, were at the mercy of the dominant power of the Hindus. Thereafter the machinations went on and with the help of the President of the Congress who arrived in Karachi, they got rid of, by a fresh arrangement, Mr. Syed who was a member of the Muslim League and brought in Khan Bahadur Allah Bux in his place. It is alleged there was some sort of agreement which was to be carried out on February 15th. According to this agreement Bundeh Ali Khan was to resign and Gulam Hussain Hidaytullah was to be installed in the ministry and Allah Bux was to be the Premier. This agreement, it is said, is a secret agreement.

Between whom this agreement was arrived at is a mystery yet. But one thing is clear from the facts that I have ascertained; that Shaikh Abdul Majid knew nothing about it, was no party to it, that there was no Muslim League party in the Assembly, that the working committee or the council of the Provincial Muslim League knew nothing about it and was not consulted by anybody. And the party most concerned, namely Mir Bundeh Ali Khan, who is supposed to have agreed to resign on the 15th of February, informs me that he was not a party to any such agreement and that he is under no obligation to resign. The so-called azad agreement is obviously intended to get rid of Mir Bundeh Ali and put Khan Bahadur Allah Bux as the Premier and Sir Ghulam Hussain as a Minister; these two being deadly opponents of the League with two Hindu Ministers and thereby leaving only two members of the Muslim League in the Ministry, namely, Khan Bahadur Khurro and Shaikh Abdul Majid in their individual capacity, and passing this show as a coalition Ministry with the Muslim League.

The two individual ministers have no Muslim League party behind them in the Assembly and have no sanction of the Muslim League in the province behind. In these circumstances it is impossible for the Muslim League to allow its name to be exploited and assume the responsibility of Ministry simply because the two who happen to be members of the Muslim League are allowed to be in such a ministry. In these circumstances if the Muslim League Ministers cannot carry on the Government. The only honourable course for them would be to resign from the ministry and sit on the opposition benches. I am sure they would resign from such a Ministry rather than resign from the League. But as individuals if they decide to continue, then the Muslim League cannot accept the responsibility of their passing off as League Ministers in the circumstances I have described above. And the Provincial Muslim League who is the final authority to approve of the

coalition in the assembly will have to consider whether it will not be a farce to call such a thing as coalition, and consider what action they should take in the matter against any individual member of the Muslim League sharing the responsibility of such a Ministry.

As regards the introduction of joint electorates I am glad that in deference to the universal Muslim opinion in the province of Sind and outside, the Government have decided not to press on with these bills. I hope that even in borough Municipalities where Joint Electorate Act has been already passed will be suspended *sine die* and finally withdrawn as requested by the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League recently. I also hope that better counsels will prevail and the present personnel of the Ministry will not be disturbed; And that Allah Bux will not insist upon becoming the premier nor would friends of Sir Ghulam Hussain insist upon his being brought in under the threat that otherwise the present Ministry will be broken. If such a thing happens the responsibility will rest with those who are bent upon causing disruption among the Muslims and those who are bent upon preventing the Muslim League party being formed and functioning when the other two Hindu parties are left intact and free to function and working together hand in hand." (A.P.I.)

*QAP-F-1009/pp.111-114 &*
*The Star of India, February 10, 1941*

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## 427

### Message to the second All-Punjab Urdu Conference, Bombay, February 13, 1941.

"Urdu is our national language and we should strain every nerve to keep it unharmed and unpolluted and save it from the aggressive and hostile attitude of our opponents. I hope

your conference will do a great deal for the advancement of Urdu and I wish all success to it."

*QAP-F-769/p.443*

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## 428

### Statement contradicting a report under the heading 'Revised Pakistan Scheme Committee's recommendations", New Delhi, February 18, 1941.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press:

"My attention has been drawn to a report under the heading 'Revised Pakistan Scheme Committee's recommendations' published in a newspaper to-day. This is entirely incorrect. After the Lahore resolution, now popularly known as the Pakistan resolution, was passed last March, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League appointed a sub-committee to invite any proposal on the basis of the fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution.

"The Lahore resolution "Inter alia" laid down that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Mussalmans unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"It is not correct either that the Working Committee of the League is going to consider any of these schemes at this meeting on February 22. I would however welcome any scheme

or proposal coming from any source and I believe there are many Mussalmans and others who are applying their minds to this problem.

"I, however, want to make it clear that the All-India Muslim League is officially not concerned with the schemes that are published in the newspapers from time to time.

"Some confusion prevails in the minds of some individuals in regard to the use of the word 'Pakistan'. This word has become synonymous with the Lahore resolution owing to the fact that it is a convenient and compendious method of describing the Lahore resolution quoted above. For the reason the British and Indian newspapers generally have adopted the word 'Pakistan' to describe the Muslim demand as embodied in the Lahore resolution. I really see no objection to it and I fail to understand why some people are making a mountain out of this molehill. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, February 19, 1941.*

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## 429

### Statement on the Sind Ministerial Crisis, New Delhi, February 19, 1941.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued a statement on the Sind Ministerial crisis advising the Premier, Mr. Bundeh Ali Khan, not to resign:

"Khan Bahadur Khuhro was good enough to come all the way from Karachi to see me and he has placed the whole matter fully before me. In consultation with Sir Abdullah Haroon, President of the Sind Muslim League I have come to the conclusion that the so-called pact, or agreement is a pure myth. I am further strengthened in my opinion, as I have been able to get a copy of the so-called secret document, which is a letter

dated November 20, 1940, addressed to Mr. Nichal Das signed only by Mr. Sayed and Mr. Khuhro, which was handed over to Mr. Nichal Das to remain as a secret document. Sheikh Abdul Majid as soon as he was informed about it repudiated it and the very first proposal in the document namely that Sh. Abdul Majid was to resign was not carried out as he declined to do so. Mir Bundeh Ali says he was no party to it. The Sind Muslim League was not even consulted at any stage of the talks that were going on between certain individuals to call this an agreement between the various groups and parties is on the face of it absurd.

This document is now made the pivot upon which Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, backed up by others, is threatening to create a crisis, unless he is installed as the Premier and Sir Ghulam Hussain is included in the Ministry and one of the Muslim League members who are in the Ministry goes out of it.

I think, if this threat is carried out the entire responsibility will rest upon those who are bent upon creating a crisis in Sind. There is no obligation on the part of the League to comply with this demand. My advice therefore, to Mr. Bundeh Ali the Premier and the two other League Ministers is not to surrender, but to face any crisis that may be threatened, and to continue the present Ministry so long as they have a majority in the assembly and, if they are defeated, they should sit in the opposition to any other Government that may be formed. (A.P.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, February 20, 1941.*

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## 430

### Speech at the League Council meeting, New Delhi, February 23, 1941.

*The Council of the All-India Muslim League began its*

*session this morning Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding.*

*On the motion of Sir Abdullah Haroon, the Council approved the three resolutions passed by the Working Committee last night relating to Mr. Amery's "India First" slogan, observance on March 23 as "Pakistan resolution day" and celebrations of Muslim League "week" once every three months. The council also unanimously elected Mr. Jinnah president.*

*The main discussion at to-day's meeting centred round the non-official resolution relating to the Congress campaign of "satyagraha."*

**Hindu Raj**

Speaking on the resolution Mr. Jinnah said that Mr. Gandhi could not fool all the people all the time. The Congress demand was really for a Hindu "Raj". Muslims could not accept a constituent assembly formed on adult franchise or even a national Government at the Centre such as was demanded by the Poona resolution of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi at one time declared that he would not start "Satyagraha" without an agreement with the Muslim League. But when the British Government did not accept the Congress demands as put forward one after another by Mr. Gandhi or his lieutenants, Mr. Gandhi shifted his ground to liberty of speech and while professing not to embarrass the British Government actually started "Satyagraha" claiming liberty to preach to his people not to help in the prosecution of the war.

"No Government engaged in a life and death struggle such as the British Government was to-day, could tolerate that. The real motive of Mr. Gandhi was to coerce the British Government to concede the Congress demands. If the British Government yielded to that demand it would mean a betrayal of the Muslims, who had maintained an attitude of benevolent neutrality in spite of all provocation and had put no difficulties

in the way of the Government so far as the prosecution of the war was concerned.

"It is now definite that the Lahore resolution of the League for the creation of independent States for those zones in which the Muslims were in the majority and which are Muslim homelands is the only solution in the interests of all concerned. Any concession or surrender of the fundamentals underlying the Lahore resolution on the part of the British Government would never be accepted by us. I want Mr. Gandhi, Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill to ponder over this resolution which we are passing to-day deliberately and solemnly. So far as we are concerned there is no going back on it."

Mr. Jinnah in adjourning the session invited his audience to send in suggestions which he said would always receive consideration. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, February 24, 1941.*

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## 431

### Speech at the flag-hoisting ceremony, Lahore, March 1, 1941.

"The Punjab holds a key position in the scheme for the realisation in practice of the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution" said Mr. Jinnah at the flag hoisting ceremony in the Islamia College grounds.

Speaking in Urdu Mr. Jinnah said that three years ago Muslim India was "no man's land" and anybody who chose could squat on it. The Muslims, as a separate political entity, were nowhere in India. "But" he said "the Muslim League came to their rescue. It gave them not only a platform but also a vigorous

programme for their political regeneration and to-day their influence is being felt in all quarters."

The people of America, he said, who had been led to believe by Congress propaganda that the Congress was the only representative political party in India, were now interesting themselves in the problems of Muslim India. It was due to the organisation of Muslims under the Muslim League that their honour and prestige had been infinitely enhanced in all countries. Even Mr. Amery, Mr. Jinnah continued, had to admit in a recent speech that 90 million Muslims could not be ignored in the framing of a future constitution for India.

Adverting to the Pakistan resolution of the Muslim League Mr. Jinnah said that no matter who opposed it, Muslims have determined to fight for it. The Muslims of the Punjab according to him, would benefit most from the realisation of the Pakistan ideal in practice."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 2, 1941.*

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## 432

### Speech at the inagural session of the Pakistan Conference, Lahore March, 1, 1941

"To-day is the first day of March and my advice to the Muslim Youth is to march on", said Mr. Jinnah, presiding over the open session of the Pakistan Conference.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that he did not desire that young men should be influenced by his presence in expressing and forming their opinion on vital political problems. He, therefore, while reserving to himself the right to express his point of view on "most important problems now before India and the Muslims" to-morrow, gave young men an opportunity to

have their say without restraint on the Pakistan resolution of the Muslim League.

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 2, 1941*

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## 433

### Presidential Address delivered at the Special Pakistan Session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, Lahore March 2, 1941.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the first instance, let me again thank you for the honour that you have done to me in asking me to preside over your deliberations in this Conference of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation. As I said, I felt that it was a call from the kindred spirit and I was only too glad to respond to that call. Next, I have been with you since the 1st of March, that is, yesterday, and I have also watched your organisation of this Conference and your deliberations and let me most heartily congratulate you for the way in which you have organised this Conference. I also wish to convey, not only to the young men here, but to a large body of Muslims of Lahore and those who have come from different parts, that I really appreciate and feel happy that the Muslims in the Punjab are now awake and that there is a small band of young men who have tried very hard to organise this Conference of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, But, I think, those who have worked for it, those who have laboured for it, must have the fullest satisfaction that their labours have borne fruit, and they are fully rewarded for their work.

Members of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, and ladies and gentlemen! let me in the first instance, as the

President of the Muslim League, give you some account as short as possible of the work that the All-India Muslim League has done during the last three years. The Muslim League as you know was in a moribund state in 1936 and the Muslims were dead. During the last three years, the Muslim League has organised the Muslims all over India to such an extent that it has been a matter not only of admiration but astonishment to those who are friends and those who are opponents. **It is a remarkable thing, when the history comes to be written, how within these three years the bulk of 90 million Muslims rallied round one platfarm and under one flag, a thing that you have never known in the history of the Muslims for the last 200 years.** It seems almost like a miracle that such a thing could have happened. All our enemies, all our opponents were fully confident and hoped in the idea that the Muslims will never unite, that they will quarrel; and in that hope their mission was to inculcate and cause disruptions and divisions amongst the Mussalmans. To-day, let me tell you that they have now given up the efforts to create division and disruption amongst the Muslims. I take only the latest instance of the Rohilkhand constituency seat for the Central Assembly. They were told that it was the Congress hold, the Hindu hold and that the last member who was elected was a Muslim but a Congressite Muslim. Well, I never indulge in a language which would in any way convey that I take delight in the misfortune of anybody. The gentleman who was occupying the seat from the Rohilkhand constituency, I suppose, could not help obeying the High Command and had to perform individual *satyargraha* and as a result he was made the guest of His Majesty's House (laughter) for more than one year, and as a consequence which follows, I mean the legal consequence, he was unseated. But when we put up our candidate, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, there was no Congress to be seen either on the land or on the horizon! (Laugher.) That is only one instance and there are many. But let

us see what the Muslim League has done.

I think I am correctly stating that to-day the Muslim League has raised the Muslims of India to a dignity; it has raised the Muslims of India to have an honourable place in the affairs of this country and the national life of this country. It has created amongst Muslims, rank and file, a spirit of discipline. It has given the Muslims the most wanted self-respect and self-reliance. It has given the Muslim India a correct picture mirrored before you, a correct perspective of the grave issues which are affecting Muslim nation to-day. It has, therefore, to-day raised the prestige and the reputation of the Muslims of India to an extent which has gone beyond expectations, even my expectations and those of many of us. To-day the Muslim India is freed from the clutches of bureaucracy. Those people who were thrust upon the Muslims as leaders and who strutted about as leaders of the Muslims but were naturally in the bureaucratic camp, have become powerless. Those men who used to strut about with Gandhi cap on the Congress platform are helpless and can do nothing. The Muslims have come to their own. They have rallied round their own platform and under their own flag and are going to pursue their policy in order to achieve the goal that we have laid down for ourselves. Yet there is a grat deal more to be done and, therefore, my appeal to you, young and old, men and women, is that we must work.

Remember! you have got to achieve, in the first instance, the goal, namely, **that you want "Muslim India" to be under our government**. That you have to achieve; and you cannot achieve that by merely passing resolutions. You realise, what it means. Of course, we have declared on hundreds of platforms that we are not a minority. Quite right, we are not a minority; although, much to my regret, I say that Hindu leadership is still harping on the same old story that we are a minority and that they are willing to give all the safeguards

according to the principles laid down by the League of Nations. I read this formula to-day laid down by a great Hindu leader, who spoke at the Hindu Minorities Conference that was going on yesterday in this city. Let me tell my friends, the Hindu leaders, that the League of Nations is dead. Don't you know that yet? Let me tell them, you are living at least a quarter of a century behind. Not only that, but you do not realise that the entire face of the world is being changed from week to week and from month to month in the European and other fields of battle. Cannot this conservative community, this exclusive community, modernise and change its intentions and views? **But it is as clear as daylight that we are not a minority. We are a nation. And a nation must have a territory. What is the use of merely saying that we are a nation? Nation does not live in the air. It lives on the land, it must govern land, and it must have territorial state and that is what you want to get.**

Remember! it is not a small job. It is the biggest job that you have ever undertaken in your life since the fall of the Moghal Empire. You realise that it requires all the necessary ingredients and preparation in order to achieve and realise that goal. You will allow me to say, do not be carried away by sentiments, do not be carried away by slogans. How is a nation made? When it has fallen, how is a nation revived? These are the questions.

We come under the category of the fallen. We have seen the worst days, although I am glad that there is a distinct and definite revival and renaissance of the Muslim nation in this country. We, therefore, are now in this position. We are just awake. We are just opening our eyes. We have just got that consciousness when we are looking around. You are yet a sick man; you are still an invalid; you have got to go through the convalescent period before you can become perfectly healthy, strong and go-about. How are you going to make your people to

come up to that stage and preparedness when you will be able to achieve your goal? There is no royal road. You must, my young friends in the first instance, apply your minds to the nation-building departments. You will say, what is it? What are the nation-building departments? Let me tell you what they are. You see that there are at least three main pillars which go to make a nation worthy of possessing a territory and running the government.

One is education. Without education you are in the same position as we were in this pandal last night in darkness! With education you will be in the same position as you are in this broad daylight. Next, no nation and no people can ever do anything very much without making themselves economically powerful in commerce, trade and industry. **And lastly,** when you have got that light of knowledge by means of education and when you have made yourselves strong economically, commercially and industrially, then you have got to prepare yourselves for your defence — defence against external aggression **and to maintain internal security**. Therefore, these are the three main pillars upon which a nation rests and the strength of the nation remains in proportion to your readiness and your preparedness with these three main pillars. To-day in these three main pillars you are at the bottom of the class. Educationally there is a great deal of leeway to be made up. Economically and financially the Muslim is poverty-sticken and on the verge of bankruptcy all over India. As to the defence even the little opportunities that are available under the present system of government the Muslims are very poor in number. Therefore, my young friends, I see you have got some resolutions which are very good resolutions indeed. You want to take up some of these matters along with your people. Here is the programme for you. Do not talk merely in a language, what shall I say, of bravado or arrogance, because I am convinced that we have no need to talk

in that language, and we have no need to talk in a language of threats. Why? Because, to begin with, our cause is honest, just and a right one. That is the first reason. The second reason is that those who are strong and those who have acquired self-confidence and self-reliance they do not need to indulge in unnecessary threats and arrogant language.

Let us, therefore, try as far as possible to reason and to persuade our opponents. Of course, I know that our reasoning and all our persuasion does not always succeed, but we must make every possible effort. Let us not create unnecessary bitterness against those who are at present the opponents of this Pakistan Lahore resolution. Why should we? **I am confident that those very opponents of ours will realise that this is the only solution and the best solution of India's most complex problem for which there is no parallel in the world**. Our opponents, wherever they may be, and the three forces and parties in this country other than Muslims, we are concerned with our Lahore resolution — the British Government, the Indian Princes and the Hindus — let me tell you that it is in the interests of these very three important and vital elements in the sub-continent of India, and they will themselves realise that what we are saying is the only solution. I will tell you why, later on. Therefore I do not want to go away from my point. If you want to achieve your goal in the shortest and quickest manner then build up the foundations of your nation in the manner which I have described.

The next thing I want to tell you is this Ladies and gentlemen, we have got two questions before us. One is the question of the *present* and the next question is of the *future*.

Now so far as the present is concerned, let me report to you what the position of Muslim League is. You know, a great struggle is going on in more than one continent of the world. In this war you know that the British Government is vitally

involved. You know, rightly or wrongly, according to the present position and the constitution under which we are ruled, India is a belligerent country. Inida is now at the present moment under the British rule. India therefore is involved in this war. India therefore has to make all the efforts it can for the intensification of war effort. Now, whatever may be our complaints or our grievances against the British Government, we realise that India also is in danger. It may be our misfortune, but whatever your sentiments and your feelings you cannot get away from the central fact that India is also in danger and therefore in our own interests we cannot put any difficulties in those war efforts which are made for the purpose of strengthening and augmenting the defence of India. We also do not wish that Great Britain should be embarrassed in any way. I am not holding a brief on behalf of the British Government, nor do I believe in the sentimental or emotional considerations. **That being so the Muslim League was willing even to support and wholeheartedly co-operate with the British Government, provided that it was agreed that not only we should take the burden and the responsibility on our heads, but along with the responsibility and the burden which we were willing to undertake we maintained that, within the present framework of the constitution, the Muslim League representative must have the real and substantial authority in the government both at the centre and in the provinces in order to be able to give real and effective help. How can we take up the responsibility and burden as to the disposition of our men when we have no voice in the government and we cannot share in the disposition of our army? How can we take up the responsibility and the burden of the expenditure of millions and crores when we have no voice and no share in the authority that is entitled to spend**

**that money**? How are we going to take that responsibility and discharge it without power and control in the government? The principle was even accepted by the British Government and it is not denied; but when it came to be translated Lord Linlithgow or Mr. Amery, or both, I do not know who is responsible, came out with a little mouse and said, 'We will give you two seats in the Executive Council' without any more details! That was nullifying in its very inception and trifling at the very commencement with the principle which was so boldly and so wisely and so generously laid down. This offer, as you know, could not be accepted by any responsible organisation — and was rejected by the All-India Muslim League.

That is all about the present, Now, we come to the **future**. As regards future, ladies and gentlemen, I have tried my very best to give every possible attention, and as far as possible, bereft of any bias or prejudice and as far as it is humanly possible I have tried to examine the arguments against the Lahore resolution. So far as we are concerned: we stand by the Lahore resolution and we want it as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war. That is what we want. Our demand is not from Hindus because the Hindus never took the whole of India. It was the Muslims who took India and ruled for 700 years. It was the British who took India from the Mussalmans. **So, we are not asking the Hindus to give us anything. Our demand is made to the British, who are in possession.** It is an utter nonsense to say that Hindustan belongs to the Hindus. They also say that Muslims were Hindus at one time. These nonsensical arguments are advanced by their leaders. They say, supposing an Englishman becomes a Muslim in England, he does not ask for Pakistan. Have you got not eyes to see and don't you have brains to understand that an Englishman, if he changes his religion in England, he, by changing his religion, still remains a member of the same society, with the same culture, same social life and everything

remains exactly the same when an Englishman changes his faith? But can't you see that a Muslim, when he was converted, granted that he was converted more than a thousand years ago, bulk of the, then according to your Hindu religion and philosophy, he becomes an outcaste and he becomes a *malecha* (untouchable) and the Hindus cease to have anything to do with him socially, religiously and culturally or in any other way? He, therefore, belongs to a different order, not only religious but social, and he has lived in that distinctly separate and antagonistic social order, religiously, socially and culturally. It is now more than a thousand years that the bulk of the Muslims have lived in a different world, in a different society, in a different philosophy and a different faith. Can you possibly compare this with that nonsensical talk that mere change of faith is no ground for a demand for Pakistan? Can't you see the fundamental difference? Now, therefore, **I do not think really that any honest man can possibly dispute the fact that the Muslims are a nation by themselves, distinctly separate from the Hindus.** Suppose they are, and I have no doubt in my mind. There are hundreds and hundreds of Hindus who honestly think so and there are hundreds of Hindus who believe in this and who have come to me and who have often said that this is the only solution, *viz.*, the Lahore resolution. Therefore, it is no use arguing this point any further. But how is the propaganda carried on against it? The propaganda is carried on and, as I have told you, I have tried to understand the arguments against it, without any prejudice as far as it is possible for a human being to do so. What is the argument?

I will start with Mr. Gandhi. He says that it is a vivisection of India. It gives you at once a feeling of horror. Is it really to frighten the Muslims not to commit the vivisection of India? It is really to frighten the Hindus that their motherland is vivisected by these wretched Muslims! Here is a question that may arise. **May I know when was India one**? Was it ever

one? Why use this word 'vivisection'? Then his disciple Mr. Rajagopalacharya goes one step further and says — and he started by saying that it was cutting the baby into two! I say to him, my dear fellow, where is the baby who is going to be cut into two? He was not satisfied with that and he thought that it was not enough and then he went further and said that it is when two Hindu brothers are quarrelling, one wants to cut the mother cow into two halves! Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have always very great respect for the religious feelings and sentiments of any community. **But if a foremost politician of the type of Mr. Rajagopalacharya should rouse the feelings, the religious feelings of the Hindus, by giving this analogy that I was proposing to cut the mother cow into two, it can only be described as a forlorn hope on their part when they have no other cogent argument to advance. Then we are told that it is against Islam!**

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not a learned Maulana or Maulvi. Nor do I claim to be learned in theology. But I also know a little of my faith and **I am a humble and proud follower of my faith**. May I know in the name of Heavens, how is this Lahore resolution against Islam? Why is it against Islam? But that is an argument that has been advanced again by a man of no less a position than Mr. Rajagopalacharya.

Next, we are told that it is not in the interest of Muslims themselves! I say to my Hindu friends, please do not bother about us. We thank you most profusely for pointing out to us our mistake and unwise decision and telling us that it is not in our interests! **We are prepared to take the consequences of our considered resolution. Please look after yourselves. The next argument is that it is economically not a practical scheme.** I have been watching, and believe me, I tried to read anything that has been said by Hindu leaders anywhere — I may have missed to somewhere — I have not yet heard barring the slogan that economically it is not a practical

proposition, because Punjab is a bankrupt province, Sind is a bankrupt province, Baluchistan is zero, North-West Frontier Province is a bankrupt province and therefore economically it is not a practicable scheme. Why not? Can't you see that at present the main source of revenue, the bulk of revenue of this continent, is in the hands of the centre? **If there is a partition, if there are independent zones, as we are defining, then those zones will get for themselves the revenue direct and it will not go to the centre, because there will be no centre for India.** Why do you brother about this? If the worse comes to the worse, like a sensible man we will cut our coat according to our cloth.

Next, what about the Hindu minorities in the Muslim zones? What about it? What do you suggest? They do not suggest anything. What about the Muslim minority in the Hindu zones? But I have suggested something. I say that my proposal is that Hindu minority in the Muslim zone must be safeguarded fully as a minority and I say that the Muslim minority in the Hindu zone must be safeguarded fully as a minority. What do you suggest? **Do you suggest as an argument that because the Hindu minority or minorities in the Muslim zones will be minorities, therefore the 90 million of Muslims should remain as a minority in an artificial "one India" with unitary form of central government, so that you can dominate over them all including those zones where they are in a solid majority?** That is an absurd and very misleading argument, which is advanced in some quarters.

Then we are told — and this is of course not often that is brought out — we are told lastly that if India is divided then the Muslims will run over the whole country and the Hindus will not be safe! My dear friends, you will be at least 200 million Hindus in India, if not more, and the poor Muslims in the North-West zone and the Eastern zone will not be more than 70

millions. Are you afraid that if these 70 millions of Muslims are allowed in their own homelands to fully and freely function and develop according to their own genius, according to their own laws and according to their own culture, social life and religion; and if they become independent states, do you say that you are afraid that these 70 millions will run over the whole of the country? **Then, may I ask the question, how will you then avoid the danger of these 90 millions running over the whole country by having a paper constitution of united India? Do you want a paper constitution of United India when 90 millions of — what shall I say — dangerous people will be there? Then do you want that the British Government should police the Hindu raj in this country so that you can gradually, slowly but surely strangulate the Muslims with the help of the British bayonet? Is that what you want?** I ask my Hindu friends and those leaders, can you conceive that the British people and the British nation will degrade themselves and dishonour themselves to remain here and police your raj and with their bayonet allow you to strangle the Muslims in this country? Then what do you want? That is the question. Now I say, if the Hindus want peace, please examine our proposals impartially and honestly. Give up all these slogans, these catchwords, these stunts: you will never succeed. Let us, therefore, examine it dispassionately and as practical men in the light of history and various constitutions prevailing in various countries, and I feel that partition will be really in the best interests of all of us — not only the Muslims but also the Hindus and the ruling Princes and the British.

Now I have examined almost every argument that has been advanced so far. If we are agreed on the partition of India, let me tell you, and I firmly believe and it is supported by reason, the Muslims and Hindus will live peacefully and as friendly neighbours. I assure you and it seems to me obvious that Muslim India will constitute the postguard of the frontiers of

India. Do you think for a single moment that Afghanistan will allow Iran to govern Afghanistan? Do you for a moment think that Afghanistan or Iran will allow Turkey to rule over them? Do you for a single moment think that even in a small continent like Arabia — Where you have different sovereign states of Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and so on — any one of them will give up their sovereign territorial government in favour of any body else? Why must you assume that when the Muslims have established their own independent sovereign state in the North-West zone, somebody else will be allowed to come over and rule over us, because he must rule over me before he rules over Hindu India? Therefore Muslim India will guard so far as the frontier is concerned and I hope the Hindus will guard so far as the South and Western India is concerned. We join together as good friends and neighbours and say to the world "Hands off India." I say there is an opportunity which is presented to India at this juncture in the history of our people which if lost may not come again for a long time. Let us be practical and face facts and put our heads together and find a solution of this problem on the lines of Pakistan. It is no use threatening people; it is not use saying this word Pakistan is "misused by some people." Every intelligent man in this country knows and understands what we mean by Pakistan. If there is any mischief-maker, who wants to create mischief, God alone can stop him: I cannot stop him. Everybody who has got any intelligence, who is honest, understands perfectly well what we mean when we say Pakistan: we mean the Lahore resolution.

There is one other matter to which I would like to refer, and that is with regard to the great Sikh community. Ladies and gentlemen, it is somewhat difficult to understand why some of our Sikh friends entertain fears and apprehensions. I do ask them to examine this proposal carefully and calmly. The position of the Sikh community will be far, far better in the scheme that we are suggesting — in the Lahore resolution —

than their position in the united India federal constitution. It is not obvious, in the first instance, that the Sikhs will form an important community in the Punjab, and as an important community in the Punjab will they not play a very big part in the affairs of the province of the Punjab in any legislature that may be constituted for the Punjab as one of the units of Pakistan? Will they not play an equally big part in the Pakistan federation being an important community in this province? What will be their position in the united India federal constitution? It will be a drop in the ocean! It is so even to-day. Let me tell my Sikh friends, if they can hear my voice, that even to-day in the present Legislature the Sikhs do not count for anything. What can one man do out of a hundred? What will any member do when there are 350 members and you have got two or three members? Nor only you will be nowhere but you will be a drop in the ocean under the scheme of a united India. My Sikh friends cannot escape the inexorable rule that they are a minority in the Punjab and must remain a minority in the Punjab and you cannot be quarrelling, you cannot by threats and intimidation reverse the fundamental order that the Muslims are a majority in this zone. I want to tell my Sikh friends that my position in my Presidency* will be according to their fears, if I believe in them, hundred times worse, because in my presidency we are only 8 per cent Muslims and the remaining nearly 90 per cent are Hindus, whereas, in this province the Sikhs are 13 per cent, while there is another community, Hindus, who are 28 per cent. Therefore you will be better off than I am in the Bombay presidency, yet I am not afraid! Therefore I do want people really to examine these facts and their pros and cons.

There is only one thing more which I want to say and it is this. It is quite obvious that no federal constitution was ever

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* Presidency (Province) of Bombay

framed or enacted without the agreement and consent of the units entering into the federal scheme of their own free will and accord. **The only solution for the Muslims of India, which will stand the test of trial and time, is that India should be partitioned so that both the communities can develop freely and fully according to their own genius economically, socially, culturally and politically.** The struggle is for the fullest opportunities and for the expression of the Muslim national will. The vital contest in which we are engaged is not only for the material gain but also for the very existence of the soul of Muslim nation, **Hence I have said often that it is a matter of life and death to the Mussalmans and is not a counter for bargaining.** Muslims have become fully conscious of this. If we lose in the struggle all is lost. Let our motto be, as the Dutch proverb says, —

'Money is lost nothing is lost:
Courage is lost much is lost:
Honour is lost most is lost:
Soul is lost all is lost.'

*Archives of Freedom Movement, Vol: 230.*

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## 434

### Speech at Iqbal Day meeting, Lahore, March 3, 1941

*Iqbal was described by various speakers not only as one of the greatest poets of the world, but also a political prophet who first visualised the ideal of a separate Muslim State in India, at the celebrations in connection with the Iqbal Day held in the University Hall, Lahore, under the auspices of the University Union.*

Paying his tribute to the memory of the poet, Mr. M. A. Jinnah said the message of Iqbal had reached the farthest corners of the world. He was the greatest interpreter of Islam in modern times.

"I have had the privilege and opportunity," he added, "of being associated with him. I have never found a more true and more loyal colleague than him."

Mr. Jinnah exhorted Muslim youth to understand the spirit of Iqbal's message. This, he said, would show them their goal. "Iqbal is going to live for ever. The coming generations will look upon him as the greatest benefactor of Muslims."

*The Civil & Military Gazette, March 4, 1941.*

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## 435

### Interview to the Orient Press, Lahore, March 4, 1941.

"No only the shaping of the future but also of the present depends upon the youngmen of to-day." said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in the course of an interview to the "Orient Press" representative at the Railway Station.

"We are old" he continued, "and the main responsibility of carrying the banner of the League to its goal falls upon the shoulders of Muslim youths. I would, therefore, exhort every young Muslim to enrol as a member of the League and strengthen it." Referring to the Punjab he said, "the Punjab, which ought to be the stronghold of the League is just the reverse of it. it is still a backward province so far as the League organisation is concerned. But I hope young men will rise to

occasion and carry the message of thee League to every village." (O.P.)

*The Star of India, March , 1941.*

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## 436

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the cut motion regarding 'General Budget Demand - Reforms in Baluchistan', New Delhi, March 6, 1941.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang** (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Mr. Deputy President, I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Exective Council' be reduced by Rs.100."

There is an ancient saying that there is nothing new under the sun. I am not sure in what sense the gentleman originally responsible for promulgating that doctrine used those words, but I think, as far as Baluchistan is conerned, it can very safely be affirmed that there has been nothing new in Baluchistan for the last 60 years or so that it has been under the administration of the British Government. You will see that this question of reforms for Baluchistan has been mooted in the House on many occasions and on the last occasion in September, 1939, it was myself who moved a Resolution to that effect and there was a debate on that Resolution. The outcome of the debate as far as the Government were concerned was that we were told what difficultes there existed.....

. . . . .

**Mr. O.K. Caroe**:... Even today the position is that the *per capita* expenditure on education is just over 12 annas, which — I have got it compared with other provinces — is higher than

the *per capita* expenditure in Madras or Bengal or Bihar or Orissa or the United Provinces: it is just about the same as the per capita expenditure in the North-West Frontier Province and Sind and the Punjab. It is considerabvly below — only about a half — of the *per capita* expenditure in Delhi, but one might expect that Delhi as the centre of India's political life would receive favourable treatment....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammad Urban): What is the percentage of the educated, — the three R's?

**Mr. O. K. Caroe**: I do not quite follow my Honourable friend.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: The Honourable Member has given the amount of the expenditure, but what is the result?

**Mr. O. K. Caroe**: If I may, I will try to explain a little more what Government is trying to do for education in Baluchistan. A scheme has been sanctioned...

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I want to know the percentage of literacy.

**Mr. O. K. Caroe**: I cannot tell the Honourable Member that, I am afraid. The present position is that a scheme has been sanctioned for nine and a quarter lakhs of non-recurring expenditure, and that the recurring expenditure which is about 3½ lakhs is to be raised to four lakhs. This 9¼ lakhs is to be expended — three lakhs on a higher secondary school with intermediate classes — that, I believe, is up to the 12th class — I am not an educational expeert, but I understand that that is so: the other large item is 2½ lakhs for a girls' school in Quetta, and considerable increases in primary education, and two lakhs for building grants to private schools. There is another point that I might mention and that is that the contribution from Government towards education is higher in Baluchistan than in any other part of India in proportion to the contributions

received from local funds, fees and other sources. Government contribute 70 per cent of the total expenditure on education in the province. This figure is very much higher than exists according to the statistics given to me in any other part of India. The total recurring expenditure when this education scheme is fully developed will be four lakhs, which is almost exactly one rupee per head of the population, and I have said that the existing expenditure which is jsut over 12 annas compare very favourably with other parts of India, when it is raised will compare even more favourably.....

. . . . .

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan**:..... mistake to separate Sind becuase of the financial difficulty, and because of the experience that we have had there. Am I right?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: Quite right.

**Nawabzada Muahmmad Liaqat Ali Khan**: Then, Sir, I do not think I have misinterpreted my Honourable friend so very much that he should have raised such a serious objection. I was only paraphrasing his speech.....

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: It is a wrong paraphrase.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan**: That may be according to him, but it may not be the fault of the one who paraphrases, but it is the fault of the text.

Now, Sir my Honourable friend stated that all this cry for freedom and for reforms for Baluchistan has come not from the people of Baluchistan but from Honourale Members in this House. I hope I am quoting him correctly. I do not know on what authority he made that statement. I have first-hand knowledge that we are doing nothing more than giving true expression to the feelings of the people of Baluchistan.

**Mr. Prsident** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The

Honourable Member has two minutes more to finish his speech.

**Nawabzada Muahmmad Liaqat Ali Khan**: I assure him that the people of Baluchistan are more anxious for their freedom, are more anxious to have a real and effective voice in the administration of their country than my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, is with regard to Sind.

(At this stage, Mr. M. A. Jinnah rose in his place).

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The House should perhaps adjourn now and the debate can be continued tomorrow.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I do not want to make a speech. I will only take two minutes. I will only make a statement.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I also want to speak on this motion, Sir.

**Mr. President** (The Hourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Then the House should adjourn till tomorrow.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I do not want to make a speech, but I only want to point out merely certain figures to the Honourable Member about the percentage of literacy. I want to say to him that the percentage of literacy in Baluchistan is the question that I put to him. For 1936-37 it is 1.6, pupils attending, whereas you find in every other part of India the lowest is 4.1 and even in Coorg it is 7.5. One other statement that I want to make is this. I have got here a Statement of Educational Progress in Baluchistan from 1932 to 1938-39, and let me tell you that it is as stationary as the Honourable Member was in his speech.

2.48, 2.55, 2.73, 1.39, 2.25, 2.05, 2.42. The only question I have to ask is, what have you done with these lakhs that you have spent in Baluchistan for education. Please explain that to us.

**Mr. O.K. Caroe**: There was an earthquake in that period.

The Assembly then adjourned.

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1941, Vol.II, pp. 1114, 11124-25 & 1128*

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## 437

### Message to the "Star of India", (Calcutta), New Delhi, March 6, 1941.

"I have been reading the '*Star of India*' for a very long time and it has always given me great pleasure to see that this paper has hitherto always supported the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League fearlessly and vigorously.

From the very beginning the Congress and the Hindu Press has been trying to misrepresent the Muslim cause and a powerful and intensive false propaganda is carried on against us. Till lately Muslim India had not realised the advantages that proper publicity and forceful advocacy affords to a cause, and the '*Star of India*' is one of those few who in spite of tremendous odds against them have served their purpose truthfully and sincerely. Recently, I believe, the '*Star of India*' has come under new management and I wish it a new life and prosperity.

*QAP-F-1009/p.117*

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## 438

### Speech at the meeting of the Mulsim University Union, Aligarh, March 10, 1941.

Mr. Jinnah began by expressing his warmest thanks for the deep affection and regard shown to him by the Aligarh

students. Proceeding he said that when he addressed them last year, the Lahore resolution, popularly known as Pakistan, had not been passed, but he had noticed that they were anxious for the declaration of the ideal embodied in the Lahore resolution. In other parts of India he had noticed the same feeling. "What I have done," said Mr. Jinnah, "is to declare boldly what was stirring the heart of Muslim India. The whole Hindu press, Hindu leaders and the Congress got hysterical about it. They raised a storm of opposition; but all the press propaganda, vituperation, misrepresentation and hysterical outbursts have not changed our position. I have asserted on numerous occasion that the democratic parliamentary system of government as they have in England and other Western countries is entirely unsuited to India. I was condemned in the Congress press as an enemy of India's freedom! But the truth of the statement is gradually dawning on the minds of all thinking persons.

**Two Pillars**

"The British policy in India has been based so far on two pillars, namely, India should be taken as a single unit and secondly the democratic system of the Western brand should be the basis of the Indian constitution. But the Mussalmans of India have established it beyond all shadow of doubt that they are not a minority in the accepted sense of the term; they are a nation if ever there was a nation in India. Even Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, is forced to recognise that the ninety million Mussalmans of India have to be treated as a separate constituent factor and not a mere numerical minority and that no constitution to which they take exception can be forced on them. Let me tell you that to-day the pillar of India being a single unit is not only broken but completely destroyed. The next pillar was democracy. let us see what they think of democracy in Europe itself; then we can understand what it means in India. Mr. Jinnah quoted passages from H.G. Wells and Salvador de Madariaga to show how democracy was

breaking down in Europe. Under cover of democracy the aristocracy and the leisured classes rule. Still, if democracy was successful to any appreciable extent in Western countries, specially England, it was due to some special conditions. Democracy worked in a country where there is one nation and one society. The people of England truly constitute one nation. Their interests and views on the fundamentals of life are common. Even the diluted democracy that we find in England is unknown in any country of the world where there are two nations and two societies. In India under democracy a permanent and perennial majority of necessity dominates over a society in minority. There is no instance in the world of two nations being yoked under a unitary constitution. We have seen from actual experience that the British parliamentary system of government results in the establishment of complete Hindu domination over all others in India. The Muslims and other minorities are rendered absolutely powerless without any hope of achieving a share of power under the constitution.

**Facting Realities**

In everything that is fundamental and essential to life Hindus and Muslims differ. it is no use shutting one's eyes to realities. Among Hindus themselves there are schisms and exclusive castes and sub-castes. Between them they make a most undemocratic society yet they have suddenly fallen in love with democracy. They talk of nothing else but democracy. In Bombay recently a swimming bath on the sea-shore was opened for the exclusive use of the Hindus. They are not prepared to swim with the Muslims even in the sea. I do not want to ridicule the feelings of Hindus. I respect everyone's religious feelings. I am only referring to these things to show how deep is the difference between the Hindus and the Muslims. It would be no wisdom to proceed to build for India a constitution on the assumption as if these differences did not exist. By ignoring the realities and the difficulties in the way of fitting India into a simple democratic

system the Hindus will be doing the greatest harm to their own people. Democracy of the kind they want to impose on India is an impossibility, for even the conditions which make diluted democracy possible in other countries are absent from India. The sooner the idea is given up the better.

**Independent States**

It was therefore after mature consideration that we passed the Lahore resolution which advocates the establishment of independent sovereign states in regions of Muslim majority, namely, the North-West and the North-East of India and also provides for mandatory safeguards for minorities in the regional states and their units. Now it does not require a genius or a great constitutionalist to understand the scheme of partition. Without waiting to consider the scheme on its merits the Congress and other Hindu circles became hysterical about it, as if it were a nightmare or some dangerous animal! As a matter of fact, Pakistan has been there for centuries; it is there to-day, and it will remain till the end of the world. It was taken away from us; we have only to take it back. What is the title of the Hindus to it? How can we be prevented from claiming what is our own? It is really more in the interests of the Hindus themselves. What, after all, does the League say? Zones with clear Muslim majority are to be demarcated and allowed to establish independent states of their own with the necessary territorial readjustments. Under the scheme two-third of India goes to the Hindus where they can have their own states. They should be content with their due share. They can never have the whole of India. I can tell you that both in the British circles and the Congress circles it is being increasingly realised that the interests of the two nations would be best served by our scheme of partition.

**Bogey Of Invasion**

The old slogans against Pakistan, such as vivisection of India, cutting mother India into two, and cutting the mother cow

have been given up. They have now begun to ask whether they will be safe if India is partitioned. The Hindu press has raised the bogey that if India is partitioned the Muslims will overrun the entire country. It is a baseless insinuation. For if that is the Hindu fear, may I know how do they then propose to rule over the whole of India? In Pakistan there will be no more than seventy million Muslims. Hindu India will consist of no less than two hundred and twenty million Hindus. Do they mean to sat that these 220 million people cannot hold their freedom against a mere seventy million? Then it is said that the future of India will not be safe, as all the invasions have come from the North-West of India, and that Pakistan itself will not be able to ward off such invasions. It is said that a united India, a democratic India, alone can withstand such attacks and, therefore, there should be a central democratic government of India. By having a central government and a majority in the ballot-box they think they can make the country safe from invasion. Further, our Hindu friends ask the Muslim minorities as to how Pakistan was going to benefit them and that they would suffer at the hands of the Hindus. As for the invasions from the North-West, may I know where did the Portuguese come from? Where did the French come from, and where did our British masters come from? Was it through the Khyber Pass? The came from the coasts. But we know that, as a matter of fact, modern warfare knows no frontiers. The decisive weapon of modern war is the air-arm. The land and the sea powers have taken a secondary position. Let us, therefore, live as good neighbours; let the Hindus guard the South and West and let the Muslims guard the frontiers. We will then stand together and say to the world, "Hands off India; India for the Indians."

**Muslim Minorities**

The second objection which concerns Muslim minorities has no force. As a self-respecting people, we in the Muslim minority provinces say boldly that we are prepared to undergo

every suffering and sacrifice for the emancipation and liberation of our brethren in regions of Muslim majority. By standing in their way and dragging them along with us into a united India we do not in any way improve our position. Instead, we reduce them also to the position of a minority. But we are determined that, whatever happens to us, we are not going to allow our brethren to be vassalised by the Hindu majority. But the fact is that the creation of these independent states will be the surest guarantee for the fair treatment of the minorities. When the time for consultation and negotiations comes the case of Muslims in the minority province will certainly not go by default.

**Be Prepared**

Pakistan is not only a practicable goal but the only goal if you want to save Islam from complete annihilation in this country. We have yet to go a long way. Pakistan is there but we have to take it. It is easier to achieve freedom than to keep it. England and America are independent states but how hard they have to struggle to preserve their independence! We have to prepare ourselves. Make yourselves strong; prepare your people in education, trade, industries, commerce and defence. The problems before us will be how to maintain internal security and ward off external aggression. Freedom cannot be achieved or kept by the spinning of *charkhas*. We should be prepared to fight and defend our homes and the ideals we cherish. The realisation of Pakistan is in your hands. Though India is away from the actual theatre of war but a sort of war is going on even in India. I appeal to you: prepare yourselves and be ready for any emergency which may arise. Aligarh is the arsenal of Muslim India and you are its best soldiers. Go to the countryside. Educate our people and uplift them. Explain to our people what is our goal. There are many who are trying to mislead them. Let them understand the things and then they will march on their destined goal.

**Prestige Raised**

The Muslim League within recent years has rendered remarkable service to the Mussalmans. The League has raised their prestige and dignity so that to-day we have reached a stage when the Mussalmans are recognised as a distinct political entity, entitled to their homelands and their state. We have to make a supreme effort to achieve our object. The Muslim League to-day is a power in spite of all opposition and the machinations of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. He came to see me only last year in Delhi. He came to Muslim India, for I am but the representative of Muslim India. Was there any period since the establishment of the British Government in India when the Government treated Muslim India with such consideration and with a certain amount of fear also? The voice of the Muslim League has reached the farthest corners of the world, even China and America. What is this all due to? You have gone some steps in organising yourselves and consolidating your forces, and you have seen the results. But there is much-leeway to be made up.

**Constructive Programme**

The time has now come to devote yourselves more and more to the constructive programme. I ask you to spend your vacation in attending to constructive work, like the spread of literacy, social uplift, economic betterment and greater political consciousness and discipline among our people. We want to establish Muslim States in the North-West and the North-East of India, so that the peaceful and neighbourly relations may be maintained between Hindus and Muslims. This is the only way to restore lasting peace, and happiness to the country: I have learnt from reliable sources that in responsible circles in England and even in Congress circles the scheme is being seriously considered. Let us, therefore, march on the goal. The

time comes, and when you are ready, I will tell you what to do."

*"Pakistan, the Muslim Charter" published by*
*Shakir Hussain Khan, Secretary, M.U.S. Union,*
*Aligarh, M.U.Press, Aligarh, 1941.*

**Another (un-published) version**

Mr. Jinnah expressed heartfelt thanks for the warm reception accorded to him.

Two years ago when he said that the democracy was not suited to the genius of the people and condition of this country, he said "a large body of Hindu leaders and Hindu Press went into hysterics and when I asserted that the Mussalmans were not a minority but a nation the fury and the madness went beyond all limits. The British policy with regard to the constitution of India was persued hitherto on the basis and the assumption of India being a single constitutional unit and democracy of the Western type and parliamentary government. Today I find that the futility of this idea stand thoroughly exposed. Mussalmans are not a minority but a nation. No constitution can work unless we recognise the fact that the main principle of the British policy that India was a single constitutional unity and democratic representative government for it was not only broken but destroyed. In Europe itself democracy was being called in question and even breaking down. Writers have described it and Mr. H.G. Wells rightly asserted as follows:

> 'the present electorates are devices designed to give power to skilful electioneers.' They are a prolific greeding ground for agitators, flatterers, hypocrites and emagogues'. Truly has Rousseau remarked 'The English people are never free except on the day of election', as soon as the election is over, they become the salves — of the members of the Parliament'.

And here is another quotation form Salvador de Madariaga in book, *The World's designs*.

> 'Great Britain is a natural democracy, and therefore it reveals in the contradictions and anomalies of which life is so fond. Though democracy, it is in fact ruled by an aristocracy; though equalitarian in law, it is by instinct sensitive to social differences though parliamentarian, its Parliament is under the sway of the Government in far stricter way than is the case with any other Parliament in the world; finally, England possesses the most self-effacing and disciplined but the most powerful Civil Service a democracy has ever known.
>
> The success of the British democracy was at its acme in the years that lapsed between 1870 and 1914. These years are crucial in the development of so-called English ideas and political ways all over the world. The world over looked only one detail: that the success of British democracy was due to the fact that it was governed by a leisured and disinterested aristocracy left over from less democratic days.
>
> Liberal democracies sprang up every where in imitation of this self-ignorant and absent-minded success. Most of them resembled the English Liberal-democracy as a Christmas tree resemble a tree in a forest: instead of roots, a piece of dead wood, a written constitution; instead of pine-cones, artificial lights reflected by the tinself of rhetoric and little coins of chocolate for a childlike electorate.
>
> Save in a few cases which can be counted with the fingers of one hand these democracies have, of course, all failed. They took over the forms but not the substance of British democracy; how could take over this substance which was the very character of the people

they were imitating by 1914 most of them were entering into the period of disenchantment. To their discomfiture, the war added imperialist and socialist ferments.

But such democracies as exist in the Western countries, are understandable and possible only there, as there exist a single homogeneous nation and a single cultural and social organised society. But in India, conditions are entirely different. Here there are two nations and the talk of democracy and a single unit is impossible. The meaning of democracy in this country can only be, and an electoral system can only result in the permanent domination of a Hindu majority over a Muslim society in minority, antagonistic to each other and different in everything that is essential to life. Hindus and Muslims differ fundamentally. But even amongst the Hindus themselves there are castes sub-castes and numerous other divisions exclusive of each other and 60 millions of depressed classes are considered untouchables. The irony of the situation that the Hindu caste community which is not only least fitted but unfit for any experiment in thee realm of democracy is clamouring for and is falling head over heels in love with democracy. The Hindu leaders are doing great harm to the interest of the country by ignoring realities and building on sand.

It was after mature consideration that the Muslim League passed the Lahore Resolution popularly known as Pakistan. Pakistan has been there for centuries. It is there today and it will remain till the end of the world. They are our homelands. They were taken from us and we want them back. What title have Hindus to it? I maintain that it is more in the interest of the Hindus themselves. The League advocates independent states for the Mussalmans where by are in a majority and as well as for the Hindus where they are in a majority that is the Hindu zones. Surely they ought to be contented with it. Their dream to rule over the whole of India

will never materialise.

But I find signs that both the British and the Hindu Leaders in their own circles are now realising more and more that it is the only possible solution of India's problems and it is in the interest of all concerned that India should be partitioned. The bogey raised by the Hindu Press that if India is partitioned Muslims will over run the entire country has no foundation. Further the argument that North Western Frontier of India will be insecure has no foundation. For if India is partitioned and if the Hindu fear is that the Muslims will over run the whole country although Hindu are more than twice in number may I know how then they proposes to rule over the whole of India. The argument that the future of India will not be safe as all invasions have taken place from the North is also baseless. Surely the Portuguese did not come from the North and the French did not come from the North. Even the British did not come from the North. But we now know that as a matter of fact modern instruments of warfare know no frontiers. The decisive weapon of modern warfare is acquiring supremacy more in the air, and the land and sea powers have taken a secondary place. Let us therefore live as good neighbours. Let the Hindus guard the South and West and let the Mussalmans guard the frontiers. Let us live as good neighbours and we will stand together and say to the world 'Hands off India - India for Indians'."

Mr. Jinnah called upon the youths to devote their time to constructive programme and apply their mind to the nation building departments of life in the social, educational and economic fields and for the betterment of the people. "Wherever and whenever you get the opportunity and time", he said, "you should go to the country side as missionaries and preach to the people the message of the League and explain to them the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. Let us in the minority provinces not be misled or intimidated. We are prepared to suffer and sacrifice where we are in a minority but

let us resolve with the grim determination that we will do all we can so that at least the 70 millions of our brothern in the North West and the East in our homelands should be released from the clutches of the so-called majority democratic Hindu Raj. Let us rescue them so that they may live the life as free and independent states according to their own faith, traditions and culture. Finally you all realise that in past three years the League has raised the prestige of the Muslim India and its voice is heard in every corner of the world like America and China. Organise yourself and learn to work in team. Let us go step by step. Do not be impatient. Time is coming when we are really ready, I will tell you what to do to achieve our goal."

*Archives of Freedom Movement, Vol. 237.*

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## 439

### Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Indian Finance Bill" New Delhi, March 14, 1941.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: (Finance Member) Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into certain parts of British India, to vary the rate of the excise duty on matches leviable under the Matches (Excise Duty) Act, 1934, to vary the rate of the excise duty on mechanical lighters leviable under the Mechanical Lighters (Excise Duty) Act, 1934, to vary the rate of the duty on artificial silk yarn and thread leviable under the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, to fix rates of income-tax and super-tax and to continue the charge and levy of excess profits tax and fix the rate at which excess profits tax shall be charged, be taken into

consideration."

.....

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, it has always been decided by this House that when we vote the expenditure, we must vote the supplies: it is a necessary corollary that having passed the budget for expenditure, this House must vote the supplies to meet that expenditure. But one feels that the opinion must be expressed whether the new sources of income which have been brought before the House are advisable or not, although I would be the last person to say that the defence expenditure or the expenses to win the war, which are necessary, whatever they may rise to , should not be voted by this House. Even if the deficit had been more than Rs. 20.85 lakhs as it is at present, I would have given my vote in favour of meeting that expenditure. But we have to see one thing, whether the expenditure that is being made is really necessary or whether money is being squandered.....

.....

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: .....Taking next the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, its President wrote in his letter to the Viceroy that the Muslim League should be consulted with regard to the total number of the expanded Council and the redistribution of the portfolios and allotting a certain number of seats to ensure real power for the Muslim League in partnership with the British Government as a price for full co-operation in the war effort. I am speaking subject to correction, if there is any correction I will be ready to accept it. He also asked to be informed how the position of relative strength of the Muslim members would be affected in case the Congress ultimately decided to join. The Congress leaders were, it is understood, anxious to come to an understanding with the Muslim League:

**An Honourable Member**: Who says that:

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrali**: That is the information I have got. (Interruptions). I am open to conviction and I would stand any interruption. Let me put the whole thing and then you can come forward with your own case. Mr. Jinnah did not attempt anything of the kind and he is said to have declined to give any straight answer until the League is recognised as the sole representative authority to speak on behalf of the entire Muslim community. This the Congress did not agree to. Mr. Jinnah, so far as I have been told, then raised the Pakistan issue at the Muslim League session of March last. Since then the Congress had had to give up all efforts to come to an understanding with Mr. Jinnah or the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah's claim that the Muslim League should be accepted as the sole representative of the entire Muslim community has been repudiated by many elements and other parties of the Muslim community itself such as the Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Hind, the Ahrars, several Shia leaders and Momins. At the Muslim Azad Conference held last summer, all the Muslim Nationalist repudiated the demand and actually supported the Congress demand for a constituent assembly. (Interruptions from the Muslim League Benches.) If you cannot follow me, who asked you to follow? I will go on in spite of your interruptions. You may rest assured.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should not be interrupted.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: The leader of the Liberals. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, in a public meeting in Bombay has said that the Muslim League was drifting into an extreme position by its Pakistan demand. This is not my own statement. Any partition of India as asked for by the League would not only be against the best interests of the country, but would also be suicidal to the Muslims themselves. Sir, I now come to the

demand of the Liberals. It may be said that they want a definite promise of dominion status. (Interruptions from the Muslim League Benches.) I am not now attacking you. Be a little cool. It may be said that they want a definite promise of dominion status within a specified date such as one year after the war, a definite assurance that the minority community will not allow to obstruct or veto political progress and an assurance that the country will not be divided into Hindu and Muslim India, as suggested by the Muslim League.

The Hindu Mahasabha practically asked the same as Liberals, but with a threat of direct action in case their demands were not met by the end of March. The All-India Hindu League urges upon the Government to proceed forthwith with the formation of an expanded Council consisting purely of non-official Indians representing important elements in the national life of the country and place at least one of them in charge of the Defence Department. It asks the British Government to approach the Indian people in a right spirit and persuade them to share and shoulder with the people of United Kingdom, the responsibility of fighting the Totalitarian forces, not merely for the establishment of democracy in Poland and other European countries but for the establishment at the end of the war of a representative government in India invested with the same powers and privileges as the self-governing colonies of Canada, South Africa or the Australian Commonwealth.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali** (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban) These are not colonies.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: I am open to correction. I will call them Dominions. I must take you as an authority.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali**: I suppose I am.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: You are, certainly. Then, the Working Committee of the All-India Aryan Political Congress

has also urged, by a Resolution, upon the Government to make a definite declaration immediately that Dominion Status will positively be granted to Indian within a year after the termination of the European war.

These are the demands that have been put forward by the several parties. I am just giving my own suggestion as to what should be done. But when the British Government have solemnly declared their firm and unalterable resolve to concede freedom and equality of status to India, why then make this solemn declaration dependent upon the agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League, which have drifted so wide apart? If the British Government is sincere in its resolve, it should, instead of waiting for a reconciliation between the differing demands, go to the people, whom these and other political bodies prefer to represent and get their mandate as to the future constitution of the country and the time limit for its inauguration, as well as the interim system of Government. Thus, instead of wooing any party, the British Government will ascertain the will of the people as a whole and as to the reasonable safeguards for the minority community. It should not be beyond the wits of Government to devise a suitable machinery for obtaining a verdict of the people through elected men who shall command the confidence of the country. The Government will by this method be able to test the representative capacity of political organisations which claim to be the custodians of the conscience of the community and at the same time to give an unmistakable proof of the British Government's sincerity and love of freedom to the country and the world. Thereby raising their moral prestige beyond all calculations in laying the foundations of a true and lasting friendship on the basis of equality between both the British and Indian countries.

**An Honourable Member on the Muslim League Benches**: Who wrote that for you?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: Do you think that I could not have made these suggestions of my own?

**An Honourable Member**: This is a written speech.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: On this subject it is very necessary to make a written speech.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): May I interrupt the Honourable Member? When he has quoted me and referred to me, I cannot sit here quiet, but I must assert in this House and this should go on the record that he is quoting me entirely incorrectly; he has completely misrepresented me when he has quoted me, and the Party that I lead.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: I said, Sir while I was speaking, that I was open to correction and that I would be very glad that, when the Honourable Mr. Jinnah has come forward to enter his own protest against this, it would be in the fitness of things for him to come out and say what he actually has said.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: But I do not want to repeat what I have said; what I have said is on record; only, you have misquoted it entirely incorrectly.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: I will not say that I won't take what the Honourable Member says, but until and unless that written speech of his is placed before the House, his simply saying that "I have not said this" would not satisfy any Honourable Member.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: The Honourable Member, Sir, has not quoted from any of my speeches.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair thought he was quoting from the Honourable Member's speech?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: No, Sir; he has given his own

version which is entirely wrong.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: It is not my version; I have been referring to a letter written to the Viceroy.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Will you kindly read that letter?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: Let us see if you have any other side; otherwise I will say that you are not able to contradict it. I will leave this question because I also knew that some controversy will enter into this discussion, but then the point is that now I have finished it and I have come to the other point, — and I think that it is a point in which on the contrary I shall have the support of the Muslim League.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: In fairness to the House, you should read that letter.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: Sir, the letter was not written by me, nor received by me, and the meaning should be made clear either by the writer or the receiver of the letter. My point is what I read in the papers; I did not go up to Mr. Jinnah to show me the letter, which he would not have shown me. Then I say, Sir, that if the Honourable Mr. Jinnah is satisfied with only saying "no, what you say is incorrect", or that that was not contained in the letter, the burden is on him to show. (Interruptions.)

Coming to the question of taxation..... The Indian representatives are against any more taxation; so are the Nationalist Party of this House and also our Muslim League Party on this side of the House.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman**: You are also a Muslim League member?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: Well, you are my brethren — how can I forget the Muslims unless they want to go back to Baluchistan and the frontiers? (Interruptions.)

**Mr. President**: (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Let the Honourable Member go on.

. . . . .

**Sir F. E. James**:.....from some of the great Presidents in the past. President Lincoln perhaps was one of the greatest and he knew from bitter experience that a house divided against itself cannot stand. That is as true of India today and in the future as it was true of the United States in the middle of the last century; and the strength of America today is the strength of her unity, and that fact should not be lost sight of by any party in this country. Today what is happening in India in the political sphere? The policies of the major political parties are aiming or have already aimed a vital blow at the settled policy of successive British Governments for the last 25 years in regard to India. What is that settled policy? First of all, the achievement of the organic and constitutional unity of India as a whole; and secondly, the establishment in this country of representative institutions on a democratic basis. Anybody who watches the political scene in India today will see that both these great pillars of policy are being attacked from different sides.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): They are both dead.

**Sir F. E. James**: My Honourable friend says they are dead, but he cannot possibly stop the march of history. However we may feel with our Muslim friends that readjustments are necessary in any new constitution that may be devised, I do not believe that we can suddenly arrest the development in this country in the constitutional sphere of the events of the last 150 years. I am prepared to admit that there is much in the present constitution that needs adjustment. India today is not the India of the days of the Round Table Conferences.....

. . . . .

**Dr. F. X. DeSouza**: It may truly be said that Governments may come and Governments may go, but we stand "out" for ever.

Sir, I entreat the Government of India — who are now gradually parting with power in favour of a national Government (Interpruptions "no, no") not to hand us over to a national Government branded with the brand of inferiority. Sir, I ask the Government to include us as an important element in the national life of the country, and give us our due place in the country's public life. But whatever the view of the Government of India may be, I am glad to say that our sister communities have always treated us and will continue to treat us with far greater consideration. They specially appreciate our freedom from communal bias. Sir, I am not disclosing a secret, but I may tell this Honourable House that only the other day important leaders of our community were approached by the emissaries from the rival majority parties to act as intermediaries in order to resolve the deadlock. I am not divulging a secret, but this is well-known to some of our leaders that they were asked to approach Mahatma Gandhi and the *Qaid-e-Azam*, but, Sir, unfortunately things had reached a stage....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I am not aware of any such thing.

**Dr. F. X. DeSouza**:.....things had reached such a stage that it was impossible for them to approach them.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Nobody has approached you?

**Dr. F. X. DeSouza**: I can say it is a fact that attempts were made to approach the leaders, but whether with success or not, I do not know.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: All I can say is that nobody has approached me. That is all I can say. And I do not know who the leaders are of the community to which the Honourable Member

belongs.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi**: How can anyone approach one who is "unapproachable"?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: That is really an unjust remark to make, because Mr. Joshi himself sees me three times in the day and smokes a cigarette with me in the Lobby.

.....

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan** (Rohilkund and Kumson Division: Muhammadan Rural): Mr. Deputy President. I have been in this House for a short time and I have not acquired that versatility which some of the Honourable Members seem to have of dealing with every subject under the sun, and dealing with it with seeming authority and expert knowledge. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the political and constitutional situation in the country, and I shall try to explain, as briefly as possible, the position of the Muslim League regrading this matter. Mr. Deputy President, when my friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, towards the end of his speech, stated that the Muslim League Party had decided to oppose the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill, the Honourable the Leader of the House interjected: "Will your opposition be successful?"

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** (Leader of the House): No, Sir, I did not.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: What did the Honourable Member say?

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan**: I am sorry, Sir, I seem to recollect that, but anyhow as the Honourable the Leader of the House says that he did nothing of the kind.....

.....

**Mr. M. S.Aney**:.....Then, as another friend of mine suggested, suppose a statement to that effect is made. There is the statement made by Mr. Amery the other day; the purport of his remarks can be construed to mean, that the British nation would not be vindicating her war-aims unless she is in a position to secure to Indian people their legitimate right to be the master of their own country. Some statement to his effect has been made by him, but still that is all vague. A clear and definite statement has to be made that, at the end of this war, India shall be in the same position as any other self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth including the Dominions of Canada and South Africa or Australia shall be at that time. A clear statement of that kind indicating, if possible, even a time limit will be very helpful. My friend, Mr. Jinnah, may not agree with me, because he and the Muslim League have got different ideas about it, but such a statement will, in my opinion, go along way to create and establish the *bona fides* of the British Government, that they will not hold on to India after the war after the people of this country have been called upon to make the supreme sacrifice – that stigma of slavery would not remain there.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: We shall doubt the *bona fides* of the Government if they made such a declaration.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: That is quite true.

Then comes the next point, and it is this, that in order that a declaration like that must inspire confidence among the people, what should the Government do? They have to do something immediately in order to inspire confidence in any announcement they might make. I shall not call upon the Government of India to do anything to modify the Government of India Act, but is there nothing which they can do without modifying that Act, as a gesture to indicate that they are in earnest, they mean business, and they are going to act upon it? I believe the suggestion made by the Conference which recently

met at Bombay deservers to be considered from this point of view. It may be, there are people who have taken objection to the people who organized the meeting and who met at the Conference on various grounds; some asked — who are they? Can they deliver the goods? These are slogans and phrases which we have all heard so often. I do not know what is meant by delivering the goods, — has any one of us goods to deliver at all?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Delivery of goods means votes.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Now, so far as the war is concerned, it is claimed by the Government of India that India and Indians have made a splendid response, although one party, *viz.*, the Muslim League has remained neutral and another party, the Congress, is sending its members to jail.....

.....

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: ..... I am sure, if the necessary step is taken and some effort is made and the Government of India cease to continue in this negative attitude and make an attempt to bring about unity between the Hindus and Mussalmans, the solution ought not to be beyond the capacity and statesmanship of British statesmen. I do not agree with my friend, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, on his Pakistan scheme. He says that he has explained his point of view privately to some unknown person and succeeded in converting him. I am certain in my conclusion that nothing will be a greater disaster to this country and to the safety of both Hindus and Mussalmans, to the best interest of Hindus and Mussalmans, than to allow the discussion on Pakistan to go in this country, and that is the reason I have taken up that question, and whenever I get an opportunity I have to say something against one whom I have been always respecting as a model gentleman and a sincere nationalist among the 35 crores of Indians in this country. I have respected Mr. Jinnah like this for many years. But during these three

years I have to say something which, from the bottom of my heart, I would not like to say, but the situation is of such a nature that I am compelled to do it. But, I leave aside that question for the present as my Honourable friend has given an assurance. They all believe in Pakistan, but it is not going to be a live issue now. He is not going to ask you: "Unless you concede the demand of Pakistan, I am not prepared to co-operate with you". That is not the position which he has taken, and, in my opinion, it is an attitude of which the Government of India ought to take note. With this helpful attitude it should not be difficult to us.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: We have never said otherwise.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I accept what you say here, but there is an impression abroad that.....

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan**: Absolutely wrong impression.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Wrong impression, — I am glad to hear that. Now that an authoritative assurance has been given, I do not want to give out what my misunderstanding was about the situation.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: Our position has been very clear. It is this. We divide the problem of India into two parts, present and future. As far as the future is concerned, we say that when the time comes to examine the whole constitutional policy of this country, we shall discuss various schemes. We believe in Pakistan. We stand by it. As far as the present is concerned, our position is that we are willing, only for the prosecution of the war successfully, to co-operate with the Government within the framework of the present Constitution. Our only quarrel has been that the Government do not take us seriously and have not shown any signs of accepting our co-operation with real and substantial authority in the Government at the Centre and

provinces.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I hope Government understand now what the policy of the Muslim League is. Anyhow, my point is this. So far as the setting up of any Government for the transitory period during the time of war is concerned, the ideal of the Muslim League is not going to come in the way. As one of the optimistic humble workers of India, I believe if my friend and some persons willing to co-operate in war effort and members of the Congress, if we can fortunately get them now, sit together and work together to run the administration in pursuit of a common effort to win the war and prepare the Indian nation, probably the need for the demand of Pakistan, about which he is feeling today so keenly, may also be obviated and the question may not at all arise.....

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: ..... or may be accepted.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: It may be one way or the other. I am prepared to take things either way. The real beginning to end the dispute is not by keeping them at arms length, but by making an effort to bring them together, entrusting them with the responsible duty of running the Government, trusting them, leaving the Government entirely in their hands and vacating your seats for them.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): What about non-violence?

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I am not a non-violent man here, nor are you, I believe. Where I am talking of war effort, I am sure, the Honourable Member realises that he is addressing one who is not a believer in non-violence.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir**: What about it? How are you going to meet it?

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: If they believe in it, they will not come, and if they come, they will not believe in it. One of the two

things you must take.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: How can you come to any settlement?

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I have told you to start with those who can settle, and that settlement will make others fall in line, and that is the way in which things are to be solved.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I agree with you: Start with those who are violent, and then others will become violent afterwards.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Those who are violent will join in carrying on this effort and others may later on come and their spirit of patriotism may be aroused and it may prepare them to co-operate in the effort of violence. My argument is that you should move to do something at once, so that it may be of use to you and to the country generally. Non-violence of certain section will not come in your way. My suggestion only means this. It is not by sitting tight in one's own position and indulging in platitudes about differences between Hindus and Muhammadans that difficulties will be solved. They have to be solved by taking some courageous action.....

. . . . .

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: ..... Nevertheless an expansion of 100,000 men costs something between 15 and 20 crores a year and if we have succeeded in adding strictly on India's own account to the defence expenditure of India more than that sum, it is because we have succeeded in expanding the armed forces of India by a greater extent than was then indicated and because the troops in India are now far more nearly adequate to the kind of task which my Honourable friend, Mr. M. Aney, just indicated they might have to face. I do not know what are the views of Mr. Aney on the subject of the scale which defence expenditure should reach in preparing India to meet the contingencies which he visualised. But I do know this, that at the present moment, India, in

relation to her defence expenditure, is in an extraordinarily fortunate position because the battles which are to prevent these emergencies from coming to the frontiers of India are being fought outside the frontiers of India, the financial liability of India for the cost of those wars is so limited and so small as to be almost negligible in relation to the cost of modern war. That was the position which resulted from the Chatfield report and from the financial settlement with His Majesty's Government. It is a position which is so favourable to India that I make hold to say that if any other Government were to occupy these Benches, the first thing which it ought to consider is whether the arrangement is consistent with the self-respect of India or whether they should not proceed to make a larger contribution to the cost of fighting the common cause.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: When is this Government going?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: I do not know. But I do know that if and when you come to occupy these Benches, you will have to deal with this question. That is the question with which you would have to deal because I claim that we, in dealing with these matters have been almost unduly anxious to ensure that we should not be criticised on the ground of sacrificing the interests of India or of securing for India a settlement which was not as favourable as any reasonable construction of the circumstances could make out.....

*The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1941, Vol. II, pp. 1291, 1371-75, 1576, Vol. III, 1671-72, 1680-81, 1696, 1700-1 & 1707.*

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## 440

### Message to the Eastern Times (Lahore), New Delhi, March 19, 1941.

I regularly read the *Eastern Times* and I have found it

interesting and instructive. Some of the articles that have appeared in this paper have, I think, a great political value.

The *Eastern Times* has undoubtedly done a great service to Muslim nation by supporting the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League and I hope that in future also it will go on doing its best towards creating a political consciousness among our people fearlessly and vigorously.

Press is a very important factor in the life of a nation and Muslim India is looking forward to Muslim Press to play its part in our national struggle.

The *Eastern Times* has a greater responsibility as it belongs to a province which is destined to play a very great part jpin our future national life.

*QAP-F-1009/118.*

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## 441

### Released to the press letter to the Defence Secretary, New Delhi, March 28, 1941.

Declining an invitation of Mr. Ogilvie, Defence Secretary, to nominate two members of the Muslim League Party to join a party of members of the Central Legislature to go on a tour of military installations and institutions in India, Mr. M. A. Jinnah has written to the Defence Secretary :-

"I regret to have to say that this is one more effort on the part of the Government indirectly to get the Muslim League to bear the responsibility and associate with the policy of the war effort which are being made without our having a real and substantial authority in the Government at the Centre and the Provinces. You know that the Muslim League has repeatedly and officially stated that no useful purpose will be served by

such methods or attempts which go to associate the name of the Muslim League only in matters of trifling character, as it is not possible by these means to secure full and whole-hearted co-operation of Muslim India. The British Government must, in order to secure full and willing support, associate the representatives of the Muslim League with the power in the Government as equal partners.

"What is the use of the Muslim League members of the Central Legislature merely going on a brief tour of military installations and institutions, when they have no voice or share in the expenditure of money or any control?

"In these circumstances I am unable to take the responsibility to nominate members of the Muslim League from the Central Legislature as desired by you." (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, March 29, 1941.*

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## 442

### Speech at a public meeting, Cawnpure, March 30, 1941.

Mr. Jinnah in his speech made a reference to the consciousness and awakening now prevalent among Muslims and expressed satisfaction. He said that the enthusiasm shown by Muslims on Saturday proved that the Muslim League movement had spread among the masses and that it was not confined to Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the observance of "Pakistan Day" on March 23 and said that it was a "red letter day" in the history of India. He criticised the Hindus and the British press for misinterpreting this scheme. The position of the Muslims in this connection, said Mr. Jinnah, had been made crystal clear. Quoting the speech which he made while opposing the Finance

Bill, Mr. Jinnah said that certain sections of the Press had misunderstood it to mean that the Muslims agreed to put the Pakistan scheme in the background. The Muslims stood for the Pakistan scheme with determination.

In regard to the popularity of the Muslim League among the Muslim masses, the speaker said that millions had joined the League. Wherever he went he saw great enthusiasm among the masses but he wanted something more. Though they had recruited a large number of people in this great organisation, still they were no more than a huge crowd. They must turn this magnificent and splendid material more trained and disciplined organisation, and for that they required selfless workers. This is to his mind was an immediate need. If they were organised they could have their own Press within six months.

Speaking about the Muslim National Guards, Mr. Jinnah said there was plenty of work for them if they wanted to do it and exhorted them to go to rural areas to improve the social and economic condition of the people.

*The Star of India, March 31, 1941 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 1, 1941*

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## 443

### Address to the East India Railway Muslim Employees Association, Cawnpore, March 30, 1941.

Mr. Jinnah said that the League Party had been fighting for these demands. Recently he had sent a memorandum on the subject to the Viceroy, who had replied that the matter would receive his consideration.

Counselling patience, Mr. Jinnah said "I am waiting to see what the Government does, and I assure you, we will see you

through the end".

*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 1, 1941.*

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## 444

### Address to the Cawnpore* Muslim Students Federation Conference, Cawnpore, March 30, 1941.

Addressing the first conference of the Cawnpore Muslim Students Federation, Mr. Jinnah said that for the last thirty years efforts had been made to bring about communal unity, but no settlement could be arrived at owing to the fact that the basis with which the Hindus and Hindu leaders started and the basis with which the Muslim leaders started for the purpose of negotiations were totally different. Hindus, he said, started on the basis that the Muslims were a minority and as such they might be given necessary Safeguards, whereas Muslims started on the basis that they were a separate entity, and as such they could come to no settlement. The Congress made the point clear when it came into power in seven provinces by treating the Muslims as a minority. The Muslim League had, therefore, to formulate its goal which was done on March 23, 1940, at Lahore by passing a resolution about Pakistan. Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress had been deceiving Muslim youth by saying that it was fighting for the freedom of the country and that it was a national organisation.

**Congress Fraud**

Mr. Jinnah added that the Congress was not a national organisation but a "Fascist Grand Council" under a dictator who was not even a four-anna member of that body! The Congress fraud had now been exposed by the Muslim League. Since the

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* Kanpur

arrival of Mahatma Gandhi in the Congress, an unfortunate element of spiritualism had been introduced in it. The result was that the Congress had been exposed as a communal organisation. It was a purely Hindu organization, but Mr. Gandhi still obstinately claimed to speak on behalf of the whole of India.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that he was sure that the Congress did not represent anybody except the Hindus and not even all the Hindus. He referred to the Round Table Conference where he said that Mahatma Gandhi did not agree to allow 51 per cent representation to Muslims in the Punjab. When no adjustment could be made between the two communities, the Pakistan plan was devised. Speaking about the fate of Muslims in the non-Pakistan zone, Mr. Jinnah said that in order to liberate 7 crores of Muslims where they were in a majority he was willing to perform the last ceremony of martyrdom if necessary and let two crores of Muslims be smashed.

*The Civil Military Gazette, April 1, 1941*
*& The Star of India, April 1, 1941.*

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## 445

### Speech in reply to the address presented to him by the Adi Hindu Association, Cawnpore, March 30, 1941.

Replying to the address of the Adi Hindu Association, Mr. Jinnah said that the depressed classes had their difficulties and also difficulties of their own making. In their address they had referred to his having done his best for them at the Round Table Conference. There they got separate electorates, which they gave up to save the life of Mr. Gandhi they should now ask Mr. Gandhi to save their life.

**"Pakistan and Dr. Ambedkar"**

Referring to the Pakistan scheme, Mr. Jinnah said that Dr. Ambedkar had understood the constitutional position in this country and the stand taken by the League in its Lahore resolution on the "Pakistan scheme". The Muslim League stood for adequate and full safeguards for all communities. He knew no untouchability. Every human being was his brother. He advised the depressed classes to organise themselves.

*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 1, 1941.*

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## 446

### Speech in reply to various welcome addresses, Cawnpore, March 30, 1941.

Replying to other welcome addresses Mr. Jinnah said, he recognised no tribe and section among the Muslims as the Muslim League was the only authoritative body to speak on behalf of them. They were Muslims first and Muslims last. He advised the backward Hindus to ask for separate electorates, and fight for it. He declared that the democratic system of Government which had been planted on the Indian soil, was totally unsuited for this country. The type of democracy that prevailed in Britain did not exist anywhere in Europe, and it was a misfortune that the plant which had withered in Europe, and even in England was being planted in India. (A.P.I.)

*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 1, 1941.*

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## 447

### Address to the Second Session of the City Muslim League Conference, Cawnpore, March 30, 1941.

The view that the present policy of the Congress and the "satyagraha" movement would lead the Hindu community to the greatest disaster was expressed by Mr. Jinnah, addressing the second session of the City Muslim League Conference. He added that the Congress and Hindus should revise and review their policy towards Muslims.

After emphasising the necessity of establishing Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah referred to the present political deadlock and said that the responsibility for it lay on the British Government. Congress leadership, he pointed out, had "gone mad" and Congress leaders had shown a bankruptcy of statesmanship.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League had not only put no difficulties in the way of preparations for the defence of the country, but had repeatedly asked the Government to avail itself of their co-operation, provided the Government gave them substantial authority within the present framework of the constitution in the Centre and the provinces. He asked the Government not to care for those who did not co-operate in the defence measures and criticised the policy of the Government towards the Congress as being an attempt to placate them. (A.P.)

*The Star of India, March 31, 1941 &*
*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 1, 1941.*

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## 448

### Speech in reply to the Address presented by the District Board, Cawnpore, March 31, 1941.

Replying to an address presented by the District Board, Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League had no sinister motives against the Hindus. The League desired every community to "face facts and realities." The District Board, he added, provided many opportunities for sincere workers to further the rural uplift work.(A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, April 1, 1941.*

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## 449

### Speech in reply to the Address presented by the Cawnpore Municipal Board, Cawnpore, April 1, 1941.

Replying to an address presented by the Cawnpore Municipal Board Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, said that the political situation in India presented a problem which had no parallel in the history of the world. He added that it was the desire of everyone that there should be complete concord between Hindus and Muslims, though there might be difference in the methods of its achievement. (A.P.I.)

*The Star of India, April 1, 1941.*

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## 450

### Address to the annual session of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, Bombay, April 6, 1941

*The Muslim League's demand for Pakistan was*

*emphasised as offering the only solution for the Indian problem by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an address to the Bombay Provincial League's annual session. Delegates from all parts of the province attended the session and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, M.L.A., presided.*

Mr. Jinnah in his speech, briefly reviewed the activities of the Muslim League and declared that the League had grown in strength and stature, and to-day had become a force in the country to be reckoned with by the Government, the Congress and other parties. Reiterating the demand for Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah replied to the observations made in a Northern India journal on the League's claims. The paper has stated:

"On two things there shall be no compromise. There shall never be a division of the country to suit the tastes and satisfy the ambitions of fanatics. It shall always be 'Akhand Bharat, Vishal Bharat'. It shall be democratic, meaning thereby majority rule, and no maudlin sentiment shall be allowed appeasement by way of a bastard substitute and unhealthy anodynes."

Mr. Jinnah asserted that the above sentiment was shared by the majority party, but the Muslim League would not accept the position visualised. The Muslim League was determinedly against the establishment of an all-India constitution with a Central Government. What the League would have was Pakistan, and Muslims would make all sacrifices for its achievement.

*The Civil & Military Gazette, April 8, 1941.*

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